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VOYAGES TO THE
EAST INDIES

Volume II

VOYAGES
to the
EAST INDIES
by
J. S. STAVORINUS

Translated from Dutch
by
S. H. Wilcocke
1798

In three volumes
vol. II

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VOYAGES

TO THE

EAST-INDIES;

BY THE LATE
JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, ESQ.
REAR ADMIRAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE
STATES-GENERAL.

Translated from the original Dutch,
BY SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE.
WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Whole comprising a full and accurate Account of
all the present and late Possessions of the Dutch
in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.
IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

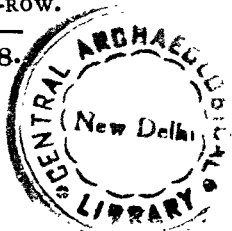
CONTAINING

A VOYAGE TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA,
SAMARANG, MACASSER, AMBOYNA, AND SURAT; WITH
ACCOUNTS OF THOSE PLACES; IN THE YEARS 1774
AND 1775.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-
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VOYAGE

TO

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA,
SAMARANG, MACASSER, AMBOYNA,
SURAT, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1774—1778.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from ZEALAND.—Ill State of Health of the Crew.—Management with Regard to the Sick.—View of the Island MADEIRA.—Some Particulars respecting two of the Crew who died.—View of the Islands SAL.—BONAVISTA.—MAYO.—ST. JAGO.—Anchorage in PORTO PRAYA.—Description of the Harbours.—Of the Town.—Desolate Condition of the CAPE VERDE Islands.—Visit to the Governor, and Vice-governor.—Departure from ST. JAGO.—Reflections on the Allowances of Water at Sea.—Passage of the Line.—Account of some Sea-birds.—Dreadful Storms.—Signs of Land.—Make the Land of Africa.—Tremendous Hurricane.—Continued bad Weather.—Twice driven off the Coast.—Anchorage in FALSE BAY.—Account of the Bay.—

Bay.—Of the Company's Buildings.—Two English, and one French, Ships found here.—Misunderstanding between the Government, and the French Captain.—How settled.—Complaints at the Cape of the French.

ON the 9th of March, 1774, the wind having changed to E.N.E. I left *Middleburgh* in the morning, in company with the junior merchant, VAN DER STENGH, and the under comptroller of equipment, DUIFVOET, for *Rammekens*, where my ship, the *Ouwerkerk*, lay at anchor,

As soon as we were on board, we sent for the pilot, and the master of the Company's pilot-hoy ; who thinking the opportunity for sailing a favourable one, we weighed anchor at ten o'clock, and set sail. Presently after, the pilot-hoy, by bad management, run athwart our bow, so that we were in great danger of doing, or receiving, damage, or of being forced aground, upon the flat called the *kloot*, or ball. Fortunately, however, we got away from each other, without either of us receiving any damage of consideration.

In the mean time, it was reported to
me,

me, that the surgeon of the ship, who had been very ill for some days, was upon the point of death, which made me determine upon proposing to the under comptroller of equipment, to cast anchor before *Flushing*, instead of proceeding to the place called the *Put*, or Pit ; the more so, as I should then have a better opportunity of receiving further orders from the honourable the board of directors, in case they made any scruple of sending the ship to sea, with a dying surgeon, and between seventy and eighty of the crew on the sicklist.

Hereupon I received orders from Mr. VAN BURGT, through the comptroller of equipment, to proceed to sea the next day, if I myself made no difficulty respecting the situation of the surgeon, which, to say the truth, I did not ; and therefore, I weighed anchor at nine A.M. and got under sail, with a stiff gale at E.N.E. At eleven o'clock, we cleared the land, carrying little sail, till eight P.M. when we changed our course to s.w. by s. We run under double-reefed topails, during the night, and on the next morning, being the 11th of March,

just

just before sunrise, we came in sight of the coasts of England and France. We then carried a press of sail ; at eight o'clock we passed *Dover*, and afterwards the *Shingles*, and at noon, we run close in with *Beachy-head*, to put the pilot on board the hoy, the master of which told me, he should keep company with me, as far as the *Start Point*, if I did not keep too far off shore.

I dispatched several letters by the pilot, and among others, one to the honourable the board of directors of *Zealand*, to inform them of my progress thus far, in safety, and that, when I mustered the ship's crew upon sailing, there were six sailors missing.

We got sight of the Isle of *Wight* in the evening, and the next day, at sunrise, of the bill of *Portland*. We presently afterwards hailed the master of the hoy, and informed him, that we had seventy-five sick ; but, further, all well. We wished each other a prosperous voyage, and steered for the *Start Point*.

At ten o'clock A.M. the hoy saluted us with seven guns, which we returned with the same number ; she then steered closer in shore,

shore, having to call at *Falmouth* for an anchor, which one of the Company's ships had left behind there.

We took our last observation of the land, being the *Start* Point, an hour before sunset, and in a short time we lost sight of it, and, together with it, Europe, for a considerable period, setting our course s.w. by w.

Nothing happened worthy of remark till the 17th of March, except that we saw several ships, and that two of our men died. We were then encountered by a violent storm, at first from the s.w. but afterwards from w.n.w. and n.w. which continued till the 19th, with an angry and mountainous sea, by which the ship strained and heeled very much. This awakened in those who had never been at sea, especially in the junior merchant (the supercargo), and the commander of the soldiers, the greatest apprehension of death; it made so deep an impression upon the latter, in particular, that he was continually at prayers, upon his knees, though he was not otherwise very religious. So we may see that fear produces
what

what the strongest arguments, and most earnest exhortations, have failed to effect.

At noon, on the 19th of March, the storm had entirely subsided ; we availed of this opportunity to repair the little damage which we had received.

The favourable wind which we then had, did not continue so, longer than the evening of the next day, when we met with calms and contrary winds. We had, however, now passed Cape *Finisterre*, the north-west point of *Gallicia*.

The wind remained contrary, though with fine weather, till the 23d of March, when the southerly wind veered to east, and N.E. with good weather, which, in the latitudes we were in, to the north of the line, is rather a singular circumstance ; for, generally, when the wind turns against the course of the sun, it is accompanied by very bad, showery, and windy weather, which does not change till the wind returns round the same way it came, to the north, of which we had a striking example in the last storm.

On the 24th of March, a sailor died, who
was

was the fourth, since our departure from *Zealand* ; certainly a small number, in comparison with the numerous sick, with which we had put to sea ; these were now reduced to sixty-six, and they were daily getting better.

They that recovered, undoubtedly owed their cure, more to the operations of nature, than to the medicines which were administered to them.

The surgeon was very ill, and wholly incapable of visiting the patients. One of his mates was equally sick, and the two others, did not even possess sufficient skill in their art, to distinguish the disease, much less to prescribe the necessary remedies ; so that, as I afterwards understood, scarcely any thing was administered to the poor sailors, but *rob sambuci*, and *spiritus nitri dulcis*, with a copious supply of drink.

I had likewise observed, when we were lying at anchor, in the road of *Rammekens*, and had one hundred and fourteen sick, and daily deaths, that after the surgeon fell ill, their number decreased from day to day.

On my part, I had put every means in practice, from the moment that this extraordinary

ordinary degree of sickness manifested itself, if not to remove it, at least to arrest its progress, and soften its malignity.

For this purpose, I ordered the places where the sick lay, to be cleaned out every day, without, however, suffering any water to be used in scouring, or otherwise, between the decks ; for due consideration, and my experience on former voyages, had taught me, that the moist exhalation from the wet that remains behind, contributes greatly to encrease the corruption of the air imprisoned in these narrow places.

Fresh air was supplied in every possible manner, as well by the usual openings of the ship, as by means of the ventilators, cool-fail, &c. The sick were shifted from time to time ; their bedding aired ; their ordure was not suffered to remain below in open buckets, but was immediately carried up, in closed cases ; their hands and faces were washed every morning with vinegar ; their mouths rinsed ; and the whole of the sick-ward was daily fumigated with juniper-berries, and sprinkled with vinegar.

By putting all these means in practice, I was fortunate enough, to moderate the
great

great heat, which, in a place, where more than one hundred sick were crowded together, must have been excessive; so that at night, it did not differ more than 10° from that of my own cabin, which I ascertained by hanging two similar thermometers in each place.

While we were at *Rammekens*, the directors contributed greatly to the alleviation and refreshment of these wretched sailors, in their state of debility and distress, by sending them a daily supply of fresh meat and greens, in which the part of the crew that were in health also participated; I caused a nourishing soup to be made for the sick, of the meat, every day; and, when at sea, I continued this practice, with regard to the sick, at noon: in the morning, I gave them grout, with prunes, mixed with white wine and sugar; and in the evening, bread soaked in beer, and sweetened with treacle.

I made the convalescents walk for one or two hours, every day, or as long as their strength would allow, between the upper and middle decks, where the air was fresher than in the sick-ward, and not so cold as upon the upper deck.

When

When they had continued this, for a few days, they came above, in fine weather, in order to regain their lost strength, by inhaling the pure sea-air, and at the same time, to warm themselves in the rays of the sun, which encreased in force every day. But I did not suffer them to do any duty, till they were perfectly restored to their former strength, and fully able to perform the usual ship's work.

But, to return to our voyage. On the 24th of March, we saw two small land-birds, which made me conclude that we were more to the eastward, or closer in with the land, than we computed by the ship's reckoning; the more so, as in traversing the bay of *Biscay*, we had daily found ourselves more southward than our estimation, which I attributed to a current running to the s.e. and which continually sets into that bay from the eastward.

The favourable wind which we got, after these little adversities, carried us, on the 27th of March, in sight of the island *Madeira*, the west part of which we discovered half an hour before sunset. This was considerably different from my expectation; for
I had

I had depended, from the reasons above-mentioned, that we should have been to the eastward of our reckoning : whereas, the contrary proved to be the case, as we found ourselves twenty-two leagues to the westward of it.

This is a singular circumstance, for of twenty ships, there is scarcely one that has a westerly misreckoning here ; in general they are all to the eastward of their computation ; owing to the indraught of the currents, both into the bay of *Biscay*, and into the bend between Cape *St. Vincent*, and Cape *Cantin*, in which last they set strongly to the east, towards the Straits of *Gibraltar* : in our case, the contrary seems to have taken place.

I had myself so little expectation of seeing the land on that side, that although, in the afternoon, the sky bore, in that quarter, much the appearance of land, shewing like the haze of thick clouds, hanging over high land, as *Madeira* is, and in the same manner as I had before seen that island overhung with clouds, I said to one of my lieutenants, that if the sky had the same appearance to the westward, as it now shewed

ed to the east, I should think that it was *Madeira*, but that there was no probability of its being to the eastward of us. We, however, saw it, in that quarter, though but a small part of its eastern extremity was visible to us, the rest of the island remaining hid, by the clouds above, and by a thick haze below.

Towards evening we lost sight of it, and steered our course, in order to run fifteen or twenty leagues to the westward of the islands *Palma* and *Fuego*, the most westerly of the *Canary* islands, and afterwards to the eastward of the *Cape Verde* islands.

On the 28th of March, died one JOACHIM VAN WIEKEN, a native of *Riga*, where he had been a capital merchant, and to the most considerable of the inhabitants of which place he was related. He had been unfortunate in his business, partly by a too implicit confidence, and partly by his own carelessness and negligence, so that he was obliged to quit his trade, and native place, and to seek his fortune elsewhere.

This man came to me at *Middleburgh* in the month of November, requesting to be enlisted as a soldier for India, in my ship.

As

As he was very well dressed, and had perfectly the manners and appearance of a gentleman, I was much surprized at his application. I endeavoured, as much as possible, to persuade him to abandon his purpose, by laying before him, the danger and inconvenience of so long a voyage, and the disagreeable treatment he was likely to meet with in so low a station ; it was, however, all in vain, he was fixed in his resolution to undertake the voyage ; assuring me that the second in command of the Company's factory at *Banjermaffing*, in the island of *Borneo*, was his cousin ; and that this person had, several times, written to his family, that one of them should come over to him ; that he was rich, and, though married, had no children ; that whoever came to him should be his heir, &c. VAN WIEKEN now wanted to try this resource for reestablishing his ruined affairs, if possible.

I endeavoured to convince him, how little reason there was, to indulge in such expectations, as his relation might be dead before he reached India, or he might have children, or have changed his mind ; that, in such a case, he would not only have performed

formed a long and difficult voyage to no purpose, but he would besides find himself in a remote and strange country, where he knew no body, and whither he had no introduction, or recommendation ; that he would wander about without resource, and would be obliged to perform the hard duties of that service in which he was engaged, and to which he would not find himself competent.

Nothing, however, could make him waver in his determination ; and, I therefore engaged him as a sailor, because, if his views proved abortive, it would be easier for him to leave the Indies, as a sailor, than as a soldier.

As soon as he came on board, I had him lodged in the gunroom, and excused him from performing the duty of a sailor.

The reigning disorder on board attacked him, soon after we were at sea, and snatching him from life, and his golden dreams of future wealth, gave him up a prey to the fishes of the deep. So are the plans of prudence, and the projects of temerity, baffled by the decrees of providence, and however far advanced towards their
com -

completion, the idle vision is dissipated, in a moment, by the breath of heaven.

The day before, we had lost one MATTHEW JOSEPH AGOO, a native of *Liege*, who, when he came on board, told me, that he was a teacher of the Latin, French, Italian, and German languages. A few days afterwards, he began to shew signs of insanity, and desired to be set on shore. I asked him, whether he had any reason to complain of bad treatment? which he answered in the negative; adding, however, “that his destiny called him on shore, and not on board a ship.” I endeavoured to convince him of the contrary, by stating that my destiny, as well as his, and that of the whole of the ship’s crew, called us to go the voyage to India. Upon this he said, “that, in order to be perfectly easy, he must have his wife and children on board.” When this was refused him, he begged again to be set on shore, promising by all that was sacred, that he would become a capuchin. I soon saw that little was to be done with him, and left him, directing my officers to take particular care of him, especially that he should not be ill treated.

treated. The next morning, at seven o'clock, as he was standing by the main-chains, he suddenly, bidding his shipmates farewell, sprang overboard; fortunately, one of the sailors, who was leaning out of a porthole between the decks, caught him by the hair of his head, or he would have been carried away by the stream. When he was safe on board again, I had him put in irons for four-and-twenty hours, after which he seemed to have come to his senses again. I took this opportunity of asking him who he was, and further particulars about his parentage, situation, &c. His story was as follows :

“ He was born,” he said, “ at *Liege*, and
 “ had early been educated there, by the Je-
 “ suits, for a learned profession, and had even,
 “ in some measure, engaged himself in their
 “ fraternity. Afterwards he had left *Liege*,
 “ and had lived for a long time in *Ger-*
 “ *many*, particularly at *Prague*. He then
 “ met with a German nobleman, who
 “ made him tutor to his children. A little
 “ time afterwards, he became acquainted
 “ with a young woman, whom he married,
 “ and by whom he had three children. Af-
 ter

“ ter his marriage, he went, with his wife,
 “ to reside at a place in *Germany*, where he
 “ had a comfortable livelihood for himself
 “ and his family, till, after having lived
 “ for several years in happiness, he was
 “ overtaken by a misfortune, which in-
 “ volved them all in distress and misery.
 “ Among his books, he had one, entitled,
 “ *La Pierre Philosophale*, which was most
 “ strictly prohibited at that place. His
 “ wife being once in conversation with one
 “ of her neighbours, on such subjects, said,
 “ in the simplicity of her heart, that her
 “ husband had that book in his possession ;
 “ upon which the other begged to look
 “ at it, and afterwards to borrow it, pro-
 “ mising to return it the next day ; but in-
 “ stead of keeping his word, he carried it
 “ directly to the officers of justice ; who
 “ immediately seized upon the property of
 “ the unfortunate delinquent, and would
 “ equally have secured his person, had he
 “ not saved himself by flight. Upon this,
 “ he returned to *Liege*, to see whether he
 “ could not raise some money, for the assist-
 “ ance of his distressed family, left behind
 “ in *Germany* ; not succeeding in this, he
 “ went

“ went to *Maestricht*, intending to enlist as
 “ a foldier, but he had there been inveigled
 “ away, by one of the under-crimps, em-
 “ ployed by the perfons, who procure re-
 “ cruits, for the Dutch East-India Com-
 “ pany’s fervice, in which he had been in-
 “ duced to engage, and had thus become
 “ a foldier, on board of the fhip *Ouwer-*
 “ *kerk*.”

After we loft fight of the ifland *Maaeira*, we had ftiff gales, from the north and N.E. which carried us fwiftly along, and, on the 1ft of April, we paffed the tropic of cancer, without any thing worthy of notice, except that, on that day, the fea appeared very turbulent, with ftrong ripplings of currents. The heat was not very confiderable, for the thermometer did not reach to 70°, in the warmeft part of the day. Our fick were daily recovering, and we had every profpect, that we fhould fhortly be without a fingle man unfit for duty.

At nine o’clock, A.M. on the 4th of April, we faw the ifland *Sal*, the northwesternmoft of the *Cape Verde* iflands. We here came to a determination of touching at *St. Yago*, to fee whether we could not get a fupply
 of

of water, and of refreshments, for our sick, and for those who had recovered, but were weakly, and were threatened with the scurvy.

A short time before noon, we saw the island *Bonavista*, along the east side of which, we sailed at two leagues distance, and towards the evening, we lost sight of it again.

The next morning, at sunrise, we saw the island *Mayo*, and we sailed to the eastward of it, at the distance of a short league.

All these islands appeared very barren, and burnt up. Neither trees, nor grass, were to be seen; nothing but bare rocks, and breakers on all sides, which, however, appeared not to extend more than a quarter of a league from the shore.

Having passed this island, we steered for that of *St. Jago*, and running in sight of it, and close in with the shore, we made the point of *Porto Praya*, which equally appeared very arid and scorched, and the hills were even become red from the parching climate.

Just before we came to the point of *Porto Praya*,

Praya, we saw an inlet, or bay, which is called the *False Bay of Praya*.

In the deepest part of this bay, there was a little grove of cocoanut-trees, and a few houses ; but a heavy surf broke all along the shore. This is easily to be distinguished from the true bay of *Praya*, as the east point of the latter is high, steep, and without breakers, and that of the former is very low, and surrounded by heavy breakers.

We ran close along the east point of *Porto Praya*, about a pistolshot from the shore, and let drop our common bower-anchor, under the stern of a large English ship, in eleven fathoms, black sandy bottom ; but as it would not hold, we likewise ran out our best bower, to which the ship bore up.

We had in the mean time been driven, by the force of the wind, to within three cables' length of the west point, which is nothing but a range of rocks, so that we were in the utmost danger, and could not carry out any other anchor to warp us off, as the gale was too strong.

We found six ships lying at anchor here ;
namely,

namely, an English East-Indiaman, bound to *Bengal*; two French vessels for *Mauritius*, and three Portuguese for *Brazil*.

Porto Praya is situated, according to my observation there, in north latitude, $14^{\circ} 50'$, at the most southern part of the island *St. Jago*.

It is a pretty deep bay, formed to the east by the beforementioned point, whence the land trends to the north, to the deepest part of the bay. This eastern shore is very high and mountainous; at the end of the bay, a little to the west, there is a very indifferent fortification, upon a little eminence, which is called the castle, and upon which, the Portuguese ensign is hoisted, when any ships arrive.

The land then turns, in a southerly direction, with high mountains, ending in a range of rocks, very little elevated above the surface of the sea, which form the west point of the bay.

Almost in the middle, between the west point and the castle, about two cables' length from the shore, there is a small island, which, by the eye, appears to be about thirty feet perpendicular out of the water. It is flat at
top,

top, like a table, and about eight hundred feet in circumference, by computation. The French call it *l'Isle aux Cailles*. The seamen who die in the harbour, are buried there.

Boats, but no ships, can pass between this island, and the west shore; the passage is filled with sunken rocks.

The cistern, whence the ships take in their water, is at the bottom of the hill upon which the castle is built; and in common seasons, if drawn dry in the evening, is full again the next morning, though the water itself is not very good, being more or less brackish.

The town of *Praya* consists of a few scattered huts of wood and clay. There are no more than two or three brick buildings, which even can scarcely be called houses, and which are inhabited by the governor and vice-governor.

There is nothing very attractive in the appearance of the whole; and the dry and parched look of the country, indicates sufficiently that it is situated in the middle of the torrid zone.

Being confined on board, partly by ill health,

health, and by the dangerous situation of my ship, which required my constant presence, I did not go on shore to see every thing myself, but I noted down the information I received from my officers.

As soon as we were safe at anchor, and had saluted the king's flag with seven guns, and were answered with the same number, I sent the boat on shore with my officers, to inform the governor of my arrival, and to request that I might be supplied with water and refreshments.

They brought me information in return, that no refreshments were to be procured at the island, it not having rained for more than nine months; and that the distress for provisions was so great, that the inhabitants were in great danger of perishing with famine, if the ship with provisions, which had been long ago written for from *Portugal*, did not speedily make her appearance *; that
there

* This drought was, in effect, followed, in the same year, by a general famine in the *Cape Verde* islands, in which many hundreds of people perished for want. The commander of a Dutch ship, which touched at *St. Jago* during this distressful season, received several of the natives, with their wives and children,

there was very little water, for that the crews of the ships which lay at anchor here, were employed, night and day, in drawing out the least water that came into the cistern ; so that if we could, at most, obtain two leagers a day, we might think ourselves very well off ; and this quantity was no more than we wanted every day, for our consumption.

As soon as they landed, they were conducted by the centinel, whose musquet was

children, who sold themselves to him, in order to escape the dreadful consequences of want. He carried them to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and sold them there ; but when the government was informed of it, he was ordered to redeem them at his own expence, to carry them back to their native country, and to bring a certificate from the Portuguese governor, importing the execution of these orders. The circumstances of these islands seem not to have been ameliorated since ; for, in 1792, when the *Lion* stopped at *St. Jago*, on her outward passage to China, the island was in an absolute state of famine. Little or no rain had fallen there for about three years before. The rivers were, almost all, entirely dry. The surface of the earth was, in general, destitute of herbage. The greatest part of the cattle had already perished, not less through drought, than want of food. Of the inhabitants, many had migrated, many were famished to death. It is remarkable, that, in opposition to the present parched and desolate state of these islands, the frequent showers, which were observed by the first navigators, who touched at this identical place, the island of *St. Jago*, induced them to give it the name of *Pluvialis*. T.

without

without a lock, to the government-house, which made a very wretched appearance, where they had to wait, till the governor was in readiness to receive them. They thought that he had first to dress himself, as they saw clothes carried in doors.

At last being conducted in, they were received by his excellency, without a coat, and in his waistcoat, having his hair turned up smooth over the head, and making, upon the whole, a strange figure *. He mentioned, among other things, that the outward-bound East-India Company's ships, *Honkoop*, the *Veldboen*, *Zuidbeveland*, and *Bothland*, had lain at anchor here, from the 22d of January till the 12th of February last, that they had brought many sick with them, and left many dead behind them.

The furniture of the chamber of audience, consisted of two chairs, a small table, and two little pictures hung against the wall: in the middle, it was divided across by a mat,

* The name and style of this august personage, was Don JOACHIM SALAMA SALDANHA DE LOBOS, governor general, for the crown of Portugal, of the Cape de Verde on the main land of Africa, and of the Cape de Verde islands opposite to it. T.

and

and the part on the other side served for a kitchen.

They were then carried to the vice-governor, who was dressed in a red cloth coat, with gold lace, and a large pair of spectacles upon his nose. His abode was also furnished something better. Against the wall hung three watches, and a little wooden cuckoo-clock, which he said had been given to him by a Dutch captain. In one corner of the room lay several folio books, which seemed to be in a very shabby condition.

Wherever they came, they were importuned by the common people for assistance of provisions. There was even a Portuguese, who, by his dress, seemed to be an officer, and who offered one of my men ten Spanish dollars, to be taken on board my ship, promising to do the duty of a common sailor, if he could but get away from this wretched country, where he expected in a short time to die of hunger.

As I now found that neither any refreshments, nor any water, were to be procured here, I determined to depart with all speed, and prosecute my voyage. I left two letters to be forwarded to Holland, one of which
was

was for the directors of the East-India Company, informing them of the situation of my ship and crew. I sent the governor two or three cheese, and some stockfish, to induce him to take particular care of my letters; he received my present with many thanks, and assured me, he would, without fail, dispatch the letters by some opportunity for Europe.

On the 7th of April, early in the morning, we began to heave our anchors; but the common bower came home without a stock, and with all the force we could bring to man the capstan, we could not move the best bower; we, therefore, determined to cut the cable, to get the ship out of her dangerous situation, which we did, and got under sail about half past seven o'clock.

The first day after we left *St. Jago*, it blew hard from the N.E. but the wind slackened in the following days; though we retained the N.E. tradewind till the 14th of April, in 4° north latitude; where we met with calms and variable winds, accompanied by thunder, lightning, and heavy showers of rain.

We availed of this opportunity to catch some rain-water, and, for two mornings
running,

running, we secured seven or eight leagers, though the heavy rain did not last longer than two hours each time. This allowed me, with greater ease, to give the men plenty of water; by which I had the good fortune to find, that in a hot and unhealthy climate, where the thermometer was frequently above 82° , my ship was without a single sick man, except one of my lieutenants, and a gunners' mate, who had both, for years before, been valetudinarians.

To the circumstance of being able to give them a plentiful allowance of water, I chiefly attributed the healthiness of my crew, during the remainder of the voyage; and I have found, by experience, that no more water is expended, by having an open water-cask upon deck, than when the crew are put upon an allowance of ten *muts* * per day, if care be taken that none of it be spilt, or unnecessarily expended, which may easily be prevented by placing a centinel at the water-cask.

The reason why the men derive more benefit from it, in this way, is, that the same quantity then serves them for four or five

* About two pints and a half. T.

draughts,

draughts, which they otherwise consume at once, in the morning (the time when the allowance is given out), partly out of greediness, or from the thirst which they have suffered during the night, and partly because they have no means of keeping the remainder of their allowance. Hence, when they have thus drank up all at once, in the morning, they must, in a burning climate, endure the most dreadful thirst, for the remainder of the four-and-twenty hours, which is not a little aggravated by the salt and dry nature of their provisions.

I likewise took particular care that every thing was kept clean and neat between the decks, and constantly fumigated with gunpowder, juniper-berries, and frankincense, as well as sprinkled with vinegar. When the calms and heat were excessive, I had two or three quarts of lemon-juice, put into a leager of water, which proved very refreshing to the crew, and I mixed gentian-root, jesuits' bark, and orange-peel, in their allowance of spirits: all which had a decided good effect upon the health of my people.

Calms, light, variable, and contrary winds, and currents, which last, I found, by
two

two observations, set strongly to the north-westward, accompanied us, before we passed the line, till the 25th of April, on which day, at noon, we were in $0^{\circ} 50'$ south latitude.

This was a day of joy and merriment. I had some hogs and sheep killed, and likewise some excellent soup made, to which a sufficient quantity of lemon-juice was added; and their good cheer, both at noon and at night, which was encreased by half a pint of punch, which I gave to each man, so exhilarated the crew, that all was boisterous joviality, with repeated songs, and uncouth dances, so that we rather seemed to be at a country-wake, than on board of a ship, bound on a distant voyage.

My satisfaction was enhanced by the reflection, that we had not one sick man on board, and that all the people looked as hale and fresh, as if they were just come from shore.

As soon as we had passed the line, the sea swarmed with fish, albicores, bonitos, flying-fish, and sharks; and we caught a great many, which proved a seasonable and agreeable refreshment to the crew.

On the 9th of May, we had passed the
Abrolhos

Abrolhos shoals, and the next day the islands of *Trinidad* and *Ascension*; I wished much to have seen the last, but could discover no appearance of land, not even any birds, which made me think, that we were more to the eastward than we computed.

Two days afterwards, in $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south latitude, under the tropic of capricorn, we lost the east tradewind, and met with variable winds, mostly from the s.w. with which we steered s.e. till in $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, thence e.s.e. till in 33° , then east by south, till in $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, being the latitude of the west point of *False-bay*, and lastly east, in a direct line for the same.

On the 19th of May, we saw, for the first time, the birds called cape-pigeons*. These birds belong to the genus of gulls, and are of the size of our sea-gulls, but have not such long and pointed wings, and are heavier of flight. The head, and the back of the neck, are quite black, as is the tail, and the end of the wings, which are otherwise, together with the back, variegated with black and white spots; the breast and belly are entirely white. These birds are met with, in large

* A diversity of the species *larus catarrhactes*. T.

flocks,

flocks, both to the east, and to the west, of the *Cape of Good Hope*, especially in stormy weather.

Besides these, we saw likewise a number of other birds, most of which belonged to the genus of gulls. Of these, the *mantelmeewwen* * were the handsomest; they are about half as large again as the former, of a snowwhite colour, with black wings. Likewise another sort, of the same size, which were wholly black, with yellow bills.

We saw also the dead body of a *noordkaper*, or spermaceti-whale †, floating by us; we guessed it to be fifty feet in length: a great number of cape-pigeons, and other sea-birds, were sitting and feeding upon it.

Till the 23d of May, we had almost continually had the finest and most agreeable weather that can be desired at sea, and which had only been interrupted, now and then, though very seldom, by a short storm.

We now, however, began to experience a change. The wind blew harder from day to day; the sea ran higher; the sun was

* The *la us marinus*, or great black and white gull of PENNANT. 7.

† *Physeter macrocephalus*.

sometimes hidden from us for entire days ; the cold encreased so much, that the thermometer declined, at times, even in the middle of the day, to 56° ; so that all conspired to prove to us, that the winter, or bad monsoon, is as unpleasant in these parts, as the months of November and December are in Europe ; I must, however, except frost, but instead of it, we had violent showers of rain and hail.

Although the winds blew hard, and often encreased into a storm, with a high-running sea, yet they shortened our passage, as they were constantly favourable.

On the 29th of May, however, the wind had encreased to such a pitch, that although, with respect to the point whence it blew, it was favourable for us, we were obliged to lye by, as the mountainous waves were no more to be avoided, and threatened to overwhelm us at every time ; in addition to which, the head-way of the ship was so great, that we could scarcely steer her.

The next day, the wind abated a little, so that we could again make sail, and follow our course.

We had, however, a continuance of high winds,

winds, especially from the n.w. with rain and dark weather ; and sometimes it suddenly veered, with a violent squall, to the s.w. after which it generally grew more calm.

From the 25th of May to the 3d of June, we had sailed over a space of three hundred and forty German leagues ; at noon, on that day, the wind began to encrease in violence from the westward, and in the evening, it had grown into a storm, with dark rainy weather, so that we were obliged to hand almost all our sails.

This, however, was nothing compared to the next day, the 4th of June, when, about eight o'clock, A.M. the tempest blew with such dreadful violence, and in such heavy squalls, that it exceeded all description. The stupendous waves, which seemed to reach the clouds, broke against, and sometimes over, the ship with such force, that had we not had a flush-deck, that is, one that lies even from stem to stern, I do not believe that we should have preserved one of our masts, not to say any thing of worse accidents.

Fortunately, both wind and sea began to
abate

abate towards the evening, we should otherwise have passed a very dismal night.

After midnight, when the wind had veered to s.w. the weather cleared up a little; and we again set our sails, and pursued our course, without having suffered any material damage.

We had favourable westerly winds, although generally blowing hard, with hazy weather, till the 8th of June, when they changed to s.e. with the new moon, and thus turned against us exactly a day too soon; as, by all signs, namely, the variation of the compass, the seeing of seals, trumpet-weed, petrels and pintados, and the change in the colour of the water, we were warranted in our expectations of seeing land the next day.

The s.e. and east winds continued till the 15th of June, when it fell calm. But, towards noon, we got a breeze from the s.w. with which we endeavoured to make some northing, as we found ourselves in the south latitude of $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

On the 17th, we experienced a sudden change, and a heavy squall from the west and n.w.

As we thought ourselves so near the land,

we

we durst not stand on with this wind, which was accompanied by thunder, lightning, and hail, but towards evening, we took in all our sails, except the main and mizen stay-sails, under which we lay by during the night.

The sea, forced on by the violence of the rain and hail, ran so high, and broke with so much violence against the sides of the ship, that she was frequently under water to leeward, as far as the hatches, and the yard-arms swept the surface of the sea.

This weather continued till the 19th, when the wind abated a little, and enabled us to make sail. In the forenoon, we steered N.E. in order to make the land. In the afternoon, we saw two seals and a whale, which made us expect to discover the land every moment; but the weather growing hazy, and the evening beginning to fall, we again lost all hope of it.

In order, however, that we might not overshoot the land, we judged it advisable, to bring to, and wait till daylight.

We sounded with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms, but found no bottom. But at half past nine in the evening, we got
foundings

soundings in ninety fathoms. This indicated, that had the weather been clear, we should have seen the land at sunset.

Unfortunately, the n.w. wind had increased to such a degree, after sunset, that the proximity of our destined port, was of no avail, for it lay in the exact direction whence the wind blew ; and we were, on the contrary, forced to make sail off shore, not knowing how far we were from the land, and being sure that if the wind veered round to the south or s.w. we should run the greatest danger of losing both the ship, and our lives.

We were driven along, on the reef of *Anguillas*, in this storm, from the northwest, till the 22d of June, in the forenoon of which day, the weather abated, in so far, that we could set our lower sails, and the main top-sail with three reeves ; flattering ourselves with the hope that we should soon meet with a favourable gale.

This was, however, but of short duration, for the wind again grew to such a head, about half past two o'clock, P.M. that we were forced to hand all our sails ; and at four, the storm had become a perfect hurricane,

ricane *, which continued to rage with the greatest fury, till about midnight, the wind incessantly veering round from north to s.s.e. with violent hail, thunder, and lightning. The sky and the sea were, in appearance, so thoroughly blended and confounded, that it was only close to the ship, that we could distinguish what was really sea. We seemed to be enveloped in impenetrable obscurity, while the lurid light afforded by the incessant lightning shooting close down by the ship, served only to perplex and dazzle the sight, and to encrease the awefulness of the scene. The surges, towering above our heads, fell upon the stern and sides of the vessel with hideous violence, and threatened, every moment, to overwhelm us entirely; the force of the waves frequently made the ship

* The denomination of hurricane, belongs properly to that species of tempest, in which the wind, blowing with the utmost fury, does not come from any fixed quarter, but runs round from north, to west, and through south, to east, raising the billows, on all sides, with repeated blasts, and accompanied with violent thunder and lightning, so that all the elements seem to be intermingled in one confusion. All this took place in the hurricane here mentioned, with the exception, that, in the eight hours which it continued, the wind, instead of running all round the compass, was confined between north and s.s.e.—S.

heel

heel so much, that she was under water on one side as far as her masts, while the howling wind, bearing perpendicularly down upon them, pressed them, as it were, into the water, and kept the ship for several minutes seemingly in the very action of oversetting.

As nothing could now be done, by the art of man, we were forced to abandon the ship to the power of the winds and waves, and the mercy of heaven.

In this tremendous conjuncture, we owed our preservation, next to God, to the construction of our vessel; for although she was exposed, without any guidance, to the fury of the sea, and the tempest, and was often wholly overwhelmed by the waves, the water could not penetrate any where, but flowed off on all sides, when she rose again; whereas had she been a deep-waited ship, she would infallibly have been water-logged, and would, at least, have rolled away her masts, if not foundered.

It is difficult to conceive, why this manner of building has only been adopted, for the East-India Company's ships, by the chamber of *Zealand*; for it is incontrovertable, that a flush-decked ship is much more able to with-
stand

stand the force of the waves, than a deep-waisted one.

After midnight, the storm began to abate a little, but the wind was still too high to admit of any sail being bent. I, however, directed the flying jib-sail to be spread in the main-chains, to leeward, in order to give the ship some stem, against the violent rolling.

The next day, at six o'clock, A.M. the high wind changed suddenly to a dead calm, which, however, lasted no more than four or five minutes, when it again blew a violent storm from S.S.E. accompanied by hail; but it subsided by degrees during the forenoon, after which we pursued our voyage, with a fair wind, and fine weather, for *Falso-Bay*.

By the bad weather, which had thus continued for several days, we computed that we had been driven a great way to the eastward of Cape *Anguillas*: but on the next day, being the 24th of June, about one o'clock, P.M. getting sight of the land of *Africa*, we found that we were much more to the westward, than we had reckoned, since we had first struck soundings, which must only be ascribed to the currents which now set forwards, or towards the east. What confirmed

confirmed me in this opinion was, that, according to a journal of the ship *Baarzande*, commanded by that very intelligent and experienced seaman, Captain HARINGMAN, his ship had been carried one hundred and eight leagues more to the westward, than by her reckoning, in the space of fifteen days, since she had first fallen in with the coast of *Africa*, near *Punto Primeiras*.

But our reckoning, since our last observation at the island *St. Jago*, on the 7th of April, differed more from our true situation; for we computed that we had sailed one hundred and thirty leagues more than we, in reality, found to be the case.

The next morning, we endeavoured to work into *Falso-Bay*, but were first frustrated by its falling calm, and on the ensuing day by a storm from the N.W. which drove us out to sea, and prevented us from making the bay again till the 28th.

The day after, we were fortunate enough to cast anchor within the bay, on the west shore, in thirty-eight fathoms, about a league and a half from *Simon's-Bay*, which we could not reach, on account of its falling calm.

I had, at this time, three hundred and fifty
men

men on board, who were in perfect health, and I had lost no more than nine, since leaving *Zealand*.

On the next day, being the 30th of June, the wind blew hard from the north; I should, nevertheless, have endeavoured to work up to the anchorage, if I had then known that it was so near; but the Company's chart, which I afterwards found to be of no use to me, together with what one of my lieutenants told me, who had before been here in a subordinate station, induced me to think, that this could not be effected in one day, for which reason, I chose to remain at anchor where I was, till the wind became a little favourable.

But the time was not yet come, to put a period to our wanderings; for, in the evening of the 30th of June, the wind again rapidly encreased, and at half past nine o'clock, our anchor began to drag, and the ship swung with her head towards the shore, so that we had only time to cut the cable, to come round before the wind, and put to sea again, being in the utmost danger of striking upon the rocks of the west point.

The storm, which drove us from our anchor,

anchor, lasted till the 5th of July, when it subsided, and we again got sight of the coast of *Africa*, near *Rio Dulce*.

We still were tormented, sometimes by storms, and sometimes by contrary winds, till the 12th of July, when we found ourselves, at daybreak, under the east point of *Falsa-Bay*, called the *Hanglip*.

Although the wind then blew from the s.w. with much force, and the sea ran very high, we were fortunate enough to weather the point, and at two o'clock, P.M. to anchor in the outer road of *Simon's Bay*; but as it then fell calm, we could not get farther; and though we made every exertion to warp in, we could not effect it. The resident of the bay, came on board of me, the same afternoon, and I delivered the Company's papers to him.

On arriving here, we counted twenty-five men on the sicklist, ten or twelve of whom were down by external accidents, and, as before said, nine had died since our departure from *Zealand*.

The next day, being the 13th of July, we warped in, between the *Rooman's Rock*,
and

and the *Ark*, which is equally a rock above water, and anchored in twelve fathoms.

Falſe - Bay is a large and deep inlet, ſituated to the ſoutheaſt of *Table-Bay* and *Capetown* and caſtle. Its weſt ſide is formed by a range of mountains, which run from the *Lion's Mountain*, ſouthward, and terminate in the ſea, ſeven leagues off, with a low point, upon which, however, there are two middling high hills, by which it is diſtinguiſhable. This ridge makes a bend, from *Simon's Bay*, to the northeaſtward, nearly a league and a half in length, and ends at a place, where there is a poſt of the Company, called *Muizenburg*. Thence, for three leagues eaſt, the beach is beſet with low ſandhills, at the end of which it trends ſoutheaſt, for about two leagues, till it reaches a chain of high mountains, which form the boundary of *Hottentot Holland*, and terminate in the ſea, two leagues farther to the ſouth, in a very remarkable hill, called the *Hanglip*.

The mouth of the bay, from the *Hanglip*, to the weſt point, which lie eaſt and weſt from each other, is full four German leagues broad ;

broad ; its extent inland may be a little more.

Along the west shore, where there is every where good anchorage, as well as in the middle of the bay, though in deep water, there are several bights, which are also called bays, as *Buffalo-Bay*, *Kalk*, or *Lime, Bay*, &c. in which ships may lie at anchor, but they are no where sheltered from the south-east winds, except in *Simon's Bay*, which runs farther in, and is covered by two rocks at the entrance, upon which the south-east swell of the sea breaks, and behind them, ships lie sheltered from all winds, or, as our seamen express it, sea-blind. Twenty ships may lie here with ease, at once, to take in water and refreshments.

Besides the Company's hospital, their magazine, and shambles, there are only four or five houses here, one of which is inhabited by the resident, who had formerly the rank of junior merchant, but was now book-keeper.

The hospital is an edifice, in which one hundred patients can, with ease, be admitted. It is built upon the brow of a hill. It has a triple front towards the sea. The
apart-

apartments, which are lofty, and without ceiling, are very airy. In the center is a large square court ; so that the sick here, have always fresh air, which contributes largely to their recovery. The hospital at the *Cape*, as we have before observed *, is destitute of this advantage ; whence, likewise, twice as many of the patients die there as here.

The hospital formerly stood upon the beach, where now the magazines and workshops are placed ; these last form one long building, which, however, is only twenty feet in breadth.

We found two English ships lying at anchor here, bound to *Madras* and *Bengal*. On board of one of them, had embarked, Lieutenant General CLAVERING, who was sent out to take the command of the military in *Bengal*, in behalf of the king ; he was accompanied by Colonel MONSON, and other officers ; there were likewise some counsellors of justice on board, for *Bengal*, where the English possessions were about to be put upon a different footing.

Besides these, there were three French ships anchored in the bay. The largest,

* See page 550, of volume I.

commanded

commanded by M. DE ST. HILAIRE, was bound to *Surat*, and had on board M. DE BREINCOURT, French consul of that place.

This ship, called the *Duc d'Arras*, had been built for the king, and to carry seventy-four guns, but she was now private property.

The captain, although not in the service of the king, but only in that of private individuals, when he first came here, some time before, had been much dissatisfied that his salute had not been returned, although the government had taken care to apprize him, before he saluted, that, according to a resolution of the council of India, they were not allowed to return the salute of any French ship, not in the king's, or Company's, service. This gentleman was highly affronted at this; because he conceived, that his having recently been favoured by the king, with an order of knighthood, was a sufficient qualification, to be looked upon as a king's officer, and he threatened to take satisfaction for the slight put upon him, by attacking the East-India Company's ship *Alkemade*, which lay at anchor here.

Whether the government were afraid that he would put this menace in execution, and thereby

thereby endanger a Company's ship, or whether any other reasons swayed them to change their resolution, I cannot tell; but only, that, to make an end of this dispute, the *Alkemade* received orders to return the Frenchman's salute, a long while after it was made, with an equal number of guns.

The inhabitants of the *Cape*, complained, in general, of the insolent behaviour of the French, who, it was said, were much more favoured by the government, than any other nation.

CHAPTER II.

*Journey to CAPETOWN.—The Welzand, or Quick-sand.—MUIZENBURG.—Militia, and Means of Defence, at the CAPE.—An Excursion inland.—Remarks on the planting of Vines, and pressing of Wine.—Rivers inland sometimes are large Streams, and sometimes run dry.—Description of a large Farm.—Diseases of the Cattle.—Account of the Farmer.—Conversation with him on the Produce, &c. of the Country.—Tithes and Duties paid to the Company.—Farm of Wine and Spirituous Liquors.—Plans for Improvement.—MUSCLE and SALDANHA Bays fit Objects of Attention.—Hospitality of an African Colonist.—Their happy Lives. — Village of STELLENBOSCH. — HET MODDERGAT. — HOTTENTOT HOLLAND.—Abuse of Authority by one of the Governors, with Regard to this Tract.—Friendly Reception at another Farmer's.—Further Enquiries and Particulars respecting the Produce and Trade of the CAPE.—MUSCLE, AGVA, SALDANHA, and ST. HELENA Bays.—The Seat called VERGELEEGEN.—Return to CAPETOWN.—Short Stay of the Ship, the Occasion of much Disease afterwards among the Crew.—Return to TABLE-Bay of a Vessel
that*

that had been driven far to the South.—Return to FALSE-Bay.—Arrival of a Ship from Holland with a great Number of Sick.

EVERY thing being in due order on board of my ship, and my presence not being further necessary, I made an engagement, on the 14th of July, with three gentlemen, to ride to the *Cape*.

We set off about one o'clock ; the road first led along the beach, the sea being on our right, and a high ridge of mountains on our left, which hung over us. After riding for about an hour, we came to a place, which is called the *Welzand*, or *Quicksand*.

The mountains here take a large bend inland, and form a sandy valley, which extends to the seashore, and is peculiarly dangerous for travellers, as it does not unfrequently happen, that people, ignorant of the circumstance, getting into the loose sand, are in great danger of sinking into it, and being buried alive, if speedy assistance be not at hand to extricate them.

Two days before I passed here, an Englishman, who belonged to one of the ships in the bay, got into this place with his horse, in
the

the evening, and he would most probably have lost his life, had he not instantly, as soon as he felt his horse sinking under him, sprang off and got away, while the animal was presently swallowed up in the sand, and stifled, without his rider being able to give him any assistance.

As I did not find any one, who had been inclined to examine this part with accuracy, or who could give any reason for the phenomenon of the sand being so loose, as to swallow up those who attempted to pass over it, and my own time, and opportunity, would not permit me to use my poor abilities for this purpose, I am wholly ignorant of the causes to which these circumstances are to be attributed.

The surest means of avoiding the danger of this road, which is about a quarter of a Dutch mile long, is by riding close down by the sea, or even through the surf, where the ground is hard; though here, likewise, prudence must be used; for if one ride too far through the waves, there is no little danger of being carried away by them.

A too great fear for the *Welzand*, had nearly cost my second lieutenant his life;
for

for riding too far through the water, he got out of his depth with his horse, and the animal swam away from under him ; fortunately he was an adept in the art, and he saved his life by swimming, reaching the shore at the same time with his horse.

Nothing is produced in this sandy valley, but in some places, a few green bushes, which somewhat resemble the broom that grows upon our downs.

Besides this *Welzand*, there is another smaller passage, which is equally dangerous, from the same circumstances, and lies about halfway between this and *Simon's-Bay*.

Having passed this dangerous spot, at full gallop, in order to run the less peril of sinking in, we came, a short half hour afterwards, to a place called *Muizenburgh*, which is a post of the Company, who keep two or three men constantly on the look-out here, for the purpose of sending immediate advice to the *Cape*, of the arrival of ships in *Falfe-Bay*, or their departure from it.

There are stables here belonging to the Company, which were erected, in the years 1755, and 1756, for the cavalry of the country, who, upon the least alarm of an
 enemy

enemy attempting to land in the neighbouring *Kalk* or *Lime*-Bay, must instantly repair thither, with some light artillery, to prevent their landing; or, if they have landed in some of the other bays higher up, their passage farther must here be disputed, the place being of that nature, that fifty determined men, may stop the progress of several thousands, for a considerable time; for the road is very narrow, with high mountains on one side, and a precipice of upwards of forty feet on the other, the bottom of which is washed by the sea. The chain of mountains, which half inclose *Falſe*-Bay, likewise terminates here.

After having taken some refreshment, we followed the road which leads north into the country, leaving the vineyards of *Constantia* *, and some other farms and country-seats,

* These consist of two farms, called *Great* and *Little Constantia*. Their annual produce is, of red wine, about sixty pipes, and of white, about ninety; yet the vintage here, as in other places, is different, in different years. These two farms were for a long time the only spots which could produce this delicate wine; but lately some other farms in this district, and in a few other places, have been able to bring their wines to the same degree of excellence. But as the
Company

feats, which lie here in an extensive hollow between the mountains, on the leftside, and the sandhills, which are interspersed over a large plain of several leagues in extent, producing nothing but some brushwood, and a few insignificant thickets, on the right hand. Every thing bore a barren and sandy appearance. We, however, met, at intervals, with a few rivulets, running down from the hills, out of which we let our horses drink.

About half past five o'clock in the evening, we reached *Capetown*. I immediately waited upon the governor of the colony, Mr. VAN PLETTENBURG, and upon Mr. HEMMY, the second in command, to acquaint them of my arrival.

The next day I conversed with the governor, more amply than the preceding evening, upon the subject of the situation of my ship and crew. I requested his excellency

Company reserved to themselves the exclusive sale of Constantia wine, which consequently was considered as contraband, and was not to be bought, or transported to Europe, under that name, by individuals, they hit upon the expedient of giving their wine, which in point of goodness does not yield to Constantia, the name of *naag*, or *stomach* wine. T.

to

to allow me to remain at least for the space of a fortnight where I was, in order that my people, who had been greatly fatigued by the length of the voyage, and especially by the continued tempestuous weather we had experienced for the last five weeks, might be enabled, by the refreshments to be obtained for them, to recover sufficient strength to encounter anew the boisterous weather of a winter in the southern latitudes: I likewise begged leave to send forty or fifty men on shore every day, in order, that by taking exercise among the hills, and by the effects of the land-air, the scorbutic tendency, which already began to manifest itself among them, might be combated. In both which instances the governor kindly complied with my desires.

On the following Sunday I attended divine service, and heard a most excellent discourse, by the Reverend Mr. SERRURIER, who is really an eloquent preacher.

Dining that day with Mr. RONNEKAMP, the conversation at table turned upon the state of defence of the country, and as that gentleman had access to the secret affairs of the colony, I took the opportunity of asking him,

him, how many men capable of bearing arms, he computed, could be mustered at the *Cape*? He told me, that he could not determine this with accuracy, but that there were full onethousand at the *Cape*, and twice as many of the country-people, who were enrolled, in order to take up arms upon any emergency *. As likewise that the number of the colonists could not be ascertained, for that the colony was already so far extended, that the more distant farmers, required forty days (or rather nights, for they always travel by night), to ride with their

* In order, in such a case, to apprize all the farmers, who live dispersed far and wide over the country, of the impending danger, high posts are erected all through the land, upon which lights are hoisted at night: the chain of them begins at the castle, the next station is at the *Zoute*, or *Salt-river*, and so on towards the country; upon the seeing of which signals, every one is obliged to repair armed to the castle.

When a youth is arrived at the age of fifteen, he must be enrolled, and every year he must resort to the place of rendezvous, in order to perform his exercise. On this occasion he must take the oath of allegiance. When a father has two sons in the militia, he is himself exempt from duty. These reviews, both of horse and foot, are held every year, in the town for the burghers, and at *Stellenbosch* and *Zwellendam* for the farmers belonging to the colony. If any one neglect to appear at the rendezvous, he is fined. T.

waggons

waggons to the *Cape* ; and that these, both in their manners and appearance, more resembled Hottentots than Christians.

As I had not much time to spend at the *Cape*, I arranged my affairs, so that I could make a little excursion into the country for four or five days. For that purpose I made a party with Mr. ERNST (whom I had known as lieutenant of the cavalry at *Batavia*, and who was now here, with his wife, on his passage to Europe), and Messieurs VAN WIELINGEN, and LE SUEUR.

Having obtained the necessary permission from the governor *, we left *Capetown*, at nine o'clock in the morning, taking with us a slave to attend upon our horses.

We first rode to the *Zoute*-river, which we forded at half past nine, our horses going into the water as far as their bellies; for the river had been encreased by the heavy rains, and the stream was pretty strong.

Thence we rode, in an E.N.E. direction,

* As the colonists are enjoined by the laws, to seize and bring to the *Cape*, all such as travel about the country, without being able to shew a permission in writing for that purpose, a pass from the governor is necessary. 1.

to the *Tiger-valley*, where we stopped at eleven o'clock, at the farm of one EKSTEEN, to take some refreshment, consisting of some bread and butter, and a good glass of wine.

Our road had hitherto led through a sandy plain, upon which there grew nothing but a little brushwood; but we saw many cultivated tracts of country, at a distance, on the left hand, in the *Tiger-Mountains*.

After having stopped here for half an hour, we again mounted our horses, and took our road a little more to the eastward, to the farm of VAN AS, situated on the slope of the *Boddelaary*, or *Butlery Mountains*, which we reached at one o'clock. The man and woman of the house, received us in a very friendly manner, and gave us a dish of tea, and a glass of good wine *, while our horses were baiting.

We

* I have observed that we never drank any wine of one and the same flavour, at two different places; every soil that produces wine, gives a distinct taste to it. The vines, which are planted by themselves like currant-bushes, are set in rows, three feet from each other, and when they are pruned, are not more than two, or two and a half, feet above the ground. They are planted in rows, and not close to each other, in
order

We staid here for something more than half an hour, and then pursuing our journey,
we

order to afford room for the labourers to go between them, to weed the ground, without damaging the vines. A thousand of them, it is calculated, will produce a leager of wine, and sometimes more. ALBERTYN VAN DE KLAPMUTS, had a vineyard close to his house, with fifty thousand vineplants, which yielded him annually seventy leagers of wine. The pressing of the grapes is performed in a more simple manner here than in Europe. The slaves gather them, and put them into a vessel, the bottom and sides of which are bored full of holes; this is set in the inside of a larger one, upon a cross-piece of wood laid at the bottom of the latter; this outside vessel has a spigot and faucet, through which the juice, as fast as it is pressed out, runs into a tub placed beneath. The grapes being heaped up, in the inner vessel, to the brim, three or four slaves, after having washed their feet in a tub of water standing at the side, get upon the fruit, and holding themselves fast by a rope fixed to the ceiling, trample upon it, and squeeze out the juice as long as they are able. In the mean time the must that runs out is put into large high vessels to ferment. If the aperture be obstructed by grapes, or stalks, so that the juice cannot easily run out, they push them away with a stick, to the end of which, a few brushes are fixed. The trodden grapes, before they are further pressed, are put upon a coarse strainer, made of rattans, on which they are rubbed with the hand, till the husks go through it; the stalks remaining behind, which are thrown away, as they are supposed to make the wine austere and bitter. The husks are then put into the fermenting vessel, which the next morning is in full fermentation; during this process the thick parts subside, and the must grows clear, when it is barrelled off,

wepassed, some time afterwards, the *Keulsche*, or *Cologni*-river. This, as well as many other streams in this country, little deserves the name of river ; for it was no more than a little rivulet, which could be passed on foot ; yet Mr. VAN WIELINGEN assured me that it was sometimes swollen so high, that the waggons and oxen were often obliged to tarry for several days, without being able to pass it. At the *Cape* I was told by Mr. VAN SCHOOR, that the largest rivers, situated many days' journey inland, all run dry in the good monsoon, in January and February, although in the bad monsoon they were deep, rapid, and impassable streams, so that the waggons were frequently obliged to stay a fortnight before them. Mr. VAN IMHOF had projected a plan for rendering them navigable, but it

off, being first filtered through a wicker basket. The grounds remaining in the fermenting vessel, are afterwards put into a square vessel pierced full of holes, and placed in a larger one with a spigot and faucet at the side ; at the top there is a screw of wood, or metal, by means of which the last drop of juice is pressed out from the husks. From the dregs and husks that remain over from the last pressing, brandy is distilled. No yeast is used for accelerating the fermentation. T.

had

had been demonstrated that it was wholly impracticable.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, we came to the farm of MELK, which at a distance, and indeed close by, appeared like a whole village. It lies among the mountains, upon the gentle declivity of a high ridge, and on the banks of an ever-running stream, which he has led, along his farm, between two brick walls, like a canal, and which turns a watermill, for the purpose of grinding his corn.

His dwelling-house, which was of a considerable size, had four or five large and handsome rooms, all furnished in a neat, and even in a costly style, so that it more resembled a gentleman's villa than the mansion of a farmer.

Twenty-five, or thirty, paces from the corners of the house, he had four large barns, or warehouses, each one hundred and fifty feet long, in which he housed his corn and wine. Two of them were now empty ; in the third were full one hundred and fifty leagers of wine ; and in the fourth fifteen or sixteen hundred *muds* of corn, twenty-seven of which make a Holland last, and
eighteen

eighteen a laft of the Cape ; each *mud* being calculated at one hundred and eighty, or ninety, pounds weight Amsterdam, according as the grain be heavy or light.

Between thefe he had a blackfmiths' and carpenters' workshop, and a cartwrights' manufactory, together with other work-people, neceffary for fo large and troublefome a concern. But few of them were Europeans, the largeft number were oriental flaves, who had coft him a great deal of money. Among others, he fhewed me a flave, who underftood fmiths' work, and making of tires on wheelbands, whom he had purchafed for fifteen hundred rixdollars, or three thoufand fix hundred gilders*.

A little higher up, ftood a range of buildings, calculated for the flaves, of whom he had full two hundred ; for he declared to me, that he did not know the exact number.

Every one had a feparate brick dwelling to fleep in. Thofe that were married were kept apart from the others ; and every pos-

* Upwards of 300*l.* fterling. T.

fible precaution was taken to prevent accidents by fire.

A little farther were two *kraals*, or inclosures for cattle; they were furrounded by high stone walls, of eight or ten feet, and contained each about two hundred and fifty acres. The sheep, the horses, and the horned cattle were confined at night in these, for security against the attacks of wild beasts, especially of wolves and tigers, who do not unfrequently make a great havock here, among the smaller-sized cattle. He calculated the numbers of his sheep by thousands; and respecting his horned cattle, a small proof of the numerousness of his herds, was his informing me, in a careless manner, and as if it were a circumstance of no consideration, that he had lost one hundred and twenty head of cattle, a few days before, by the diseases called the *klaauw* and *tongziekte* *.

There

* These diseases of the cattle are peculiar to the *Cape of Good Hope*. In the *klaauwziekte*, the hoofs of the cattle grow loose, so that they cannot walk; it appears to proceed from the summer-heats, especially if the oxen have been driven on journies in the daytime; it is thought infectious, and whole
droves

There were several other smaller outhouses and offices, for various purposes, relative to the economy of the farm.

Besides

droves are successively affected by it ; it, however, in general, leaves the cattle, of its own accord, in the course of one or two weeks. In the *tongziekte*, vesicles, or bladders, break out on the tongue, discharging a thin ichorous matter ; in consequence of this distemper, the cattle cannot eat, but grow lean, and sometimes die ; the farmers are accustomed to rub the bladders off with salt. Besides these, the cattle are liable to other diseases, which sometimes prove fatal. The *blaar*, or *bloedziekte*, is a disorder, in which the veins all over the body become extremely turgid ; letting of blood and violent exercise are said to be serviceable in it ; the flesh of the cattle who die of it, is not eatable. The *sponfsziekte* begins by the swelling of the foot, which proceeds by degrees to the whole body ; this disorder sometimes lasts for three days, but at other times proves fatal in as many hours ; if the foot be taken off immediately, the creature's life may be saved : the flesh of such an animal is likewise not eatable : it seems to proceed from no other cause than the bite of some serpent, or reptile, which, in this warm quarter of the globe, is but too common. The *lamziekte*, is when the cattle are not able to stand ; it comes on gradually, and is slow in its progress ; after the death of the animal, the bones of its legs are found to be without marrow, instead of which they are filled with water. The horned cattle, as well as horses, are afflicted with the strangury, after feeding on the *euphorbia genistoides*, which contains a milky juice, that does no injury to the stomach and bowels, but corrodes the bladder, and especially obstructs the urinary passages ; if the penis be pressed, this viscid matter is squeezed out ; the peasants, therefore, either
press

Besides this, he was owner of seven or eight other farms, upon which he had placed stewards, who managed them in his behalf, upon hire. Some of these produced corn, some wine, and some were simply destined for pasturage.

With all this, MELK could neither read nor write; but having a good memory, he had the whole in his head of what was necessary for the due management of his extensive concerns, for which any other would require a number of books, and a great deal of writing.

He was a native of *Prussia*, and had arrived at the *Cape*, many years ago, in a very low station. Understanding the burning of lime, the making of bricks, and something of agriculture, he had entered, as head-servant, into the service of the former proprietor of this farm, but which, at that time, had not by far the same extent as at

press it out, or with a straw push it back again. When the cattle are supplied with good and fresh water, this disease cannot get the upper-hand; but in summer, when the water is thick and impure, so that it cannot dilute the peccant matter, the cattle die. As a remedy for this distemper the farmers give their cattle a teacup-full of powdered ostrich eggshells, mixed with vinegar. T.

present.

present. When his master died, he married the widow (which does not unfrequently happen in this country), and extending his enterprizes from day to day, he at length obtained from the Company, the exclusive farm for the sale of wine and spirituous liquors, by which he cleared one hundred thousand gilders * in one year, chiefly by the arrival of the French fleet at the *Cape*. This enabled him to undertake still more important objects, so that he once bought up all the wine produced in the country, which amounted to some thousands of leagers. Though this did not conduce to the benefit of the public, yet it sufficiently shews the spirit of enterprize which animated the man.

Two things in him excited, in particular, both my admiration and surprize. In the first place, his steady love for his king, of whom he always spoke with the deepest respect and affection; he decorated the chimneypieces, and other parts of his house, with the arms of his sovereign, and cherished a fond attachment to his person. The other

* About 9000*l.* sterling. *T.*

circumstance I allude to, was his gratitude towards his wife, by whose means, he invariably declared, he had become the man he was ; he would not suffer her to be put to the least trouble in any thing, however trifling ; and was anxious that she should live entirely at her ease, and take every diversion in her power : he even took upon himself the care of managing the houses, so that his wife had her time entirely to herself.

Finding that he spoke with much intelligence, respecting the situation of the country, as I, in fact, had before been informed was the case, I asked him his opinion of the plan at present in agitation, of exporting the produce of the *Cape* to Holland. He assured me, that this would, in time, be of great benefit to the colony, and most probably also to the Company ; but that to effect this purpose, other means must be put in practice, and better arrangements made, than had hitherto taken place.

In the first place, he said that the Company ought to erect storehouses in various parts, where the produce of the country could be received, from time to time, when
the

the farmers had opportunities of conveying it from their farms, to those places, in the good season, or as soon as the harvest was got in, in January and February ; for the rivers and roads were at that time the easiest passable : whereas the conveyance was otherwise both difficult and expensive : and that the corn would stand the Company in much less, if this method were adopted.

Further, that the tithes, which the Company exacted of the corn grown, were of detriment, instead of producing an advantage for the farmers ; who, for instance, grew five hundred *muds* of corn, only declared one hundred, which they sold at a high rate, while the other four hundred were disposed of at a much lower price under the hand, by indirect means, in order to avoid payment of the tithes *.

That

* VAN RENEN told me, that the tithes on the wine were calculated at three rixdollars per leager.

That further, the Company's duties consisted in two and a half per cent on the sale of immoveable property ; but that buildings erected since the year 1750, were charged twice as much ; thus five per cent.

That

That the servants of the Company, at the *Cape*, to whom the purchase is confided, should act more disinterestedly, and not so arbitrarily towards the farmers, whom they, in fact, were even apt to defraud.

That the overseers of these storehouses would be able to avail of the best opportunities for purchase, when the produce was at the cheapest; housing it in them, till the time of dispatching it to the *Cape*.

That, especially, such storehouses ought to be erected at *Mossel*, or *Muscle*, and *Saldanha*, Bays, as the Company could, in both places, fetch the produce, direct, by their ships, instead of its being, as at present, first conveyed to the *Cape* by land-carriage, where

That the farming of the wine consists herein, that whoever is the farmer, has the exclusive right of selling wine and spirituous liquors in smaller quantities than by the half-awm: that foreigners are obliged to pay five rixdollars to him for each leager which they take away; our own nation is exempted herefrom, but they may not buy wine from any other person, as long as their ship has not received her dispatches; but if there be any time afterwards, they may purchase it of other individuals.

The Cape wines, as the country people say, must be twice drawn off the lees every year, without any other preparation than being fumigated with brimstone.

their

their servants, who must all derive their emolument from it, receive, or reject it, at their own good pleasure *.

And finally, that the land all round the above bays, was very fit for the production of corn ; nay, better than in other parts ; so that one *mud* sown, commonly yielded an encrease of sixty or seventy, while, at most other places, between ten and twenty, and sometimes thirty, *muds* was the usual harvest from one *mud* of seed. That the Company would doubtless be able to purchase wheat there at one rixdollar per *mud* ; whereas they now paid eighteen, twenty, and sometimes twenty-four, rixdollars per cartload of ten *muds*, because the conveyance by wheel-carriage is so expensive to the farmers, that they could not do it at all,

* VAN WIELINGEN was of opinion, that if the Company would allow a society of ten, or a dozen, farmers, of some property, to be formed, for the purpose of undertaking the cultivation of the land at *Muske-Bay* ; who, without having any thing to do with the sheriff of the district, might take as many *Hottentots* into their service as they liked, and pay them what wages they could mutually agree upon, without his interference ; the beneficial effects of such a measure would speedily be perceived.

if

if they did not receive the above prices per cartload *.

I should have liked to have stayed a little longer with this man, that I might procure further information from him on these interesting topics ; but it was evening, and we had to ride a good hour before we could reach the place where we were to pass the night.

We left MELK's estate about half past five o'clock, and at half past six, we came to ALBERTYN's farm, lying at the foot of a mountain, called *de Klapmuts*, where we passed the night.

I found in this farmer unadulterated nature. Sincerity, friendliness, and benevolence, were the amiable qualities of himself, his wife, his two sons, and two marriageable daughters.

They laid before us the best of what they had, and the ingenuous cordiality of these happy and unoffending children of nature, seemed to me a true picture of the period whence

“ The fabling poets took their golden age ; ”

* *Dz Vos*, together with other farmers whom I conversed with on the subject, told me the same thing ; also, that every cartload is reckoned at thirteen hundred pounds weight.

when

when humanity and benevolence reigned in the earth, and falsity and deceit were unknown. I could not sufficiently admire the sincere, the artless, affection which manifested itself in the father, mother, brothers, and sisters, and formed the felicity of the whole family; an affection, which, however strongly dictated by nature, and enforced by religion, we may often seek for in vain among our European countrymen. Happy, thrice happy mortals, who, situated at the extremity of the globe, amidst the wilds of Africa, formerly so barren and desolate, though now fertilised and embellished by your labour, can lead a life of content and innocence! I was frequently so wrapped up in these thoughts, that I scarcely heard what was said to me.

The next day, at nine o'clock in the morning, we left this agreeable place, to ride on to *Stellenbosch*, where we arrived at ten.

This is a pleasant village, consisting of forty or fifty houses, built along two broad streets, which are planted with trees on both sides. The church, which stands at the north end of the village, is a small but neat edifice,

edifice, having sufficient room for a congregation of full two hundred people: a circular space round it, walled off, is the churchyard, and the entrance is through a handsome iron-gate. A minister, a clerk, and a sexton, belong to this church.

The house of the *landdrost*, or sheriff, of *Stellenbosch*, which office was then filled by Mr. BERGH, deserves equally to be taken notice of, on account of its spacious and handsome apartments.

After having walked through the village, and stopped for about half an hour at the house of Mr. VION, we proceeded, at eleven o'clock, for the farm of the widow GROENENWALD, lying a short half-hour's ride to the northeast, at the foot of a range of mountains, which make here a hollow, or *cul-de-sac*, called *Jan Jonkershoek*.

We dined here, and about two o'clock set out again for *Hottentot Holland*. Our way led us first back through *Stellenbosch*, and then to the south, over several ridges, which are high enough to deserve of themselves the name of mountains, but which were low in comparison to the towering summits of those on our left hand, which
were,

were, for a great part, covered with more.

Having proceeded full a quarter of an hour south from *Stellenbosch*, we passed the *first*, or *Stellenbosch*, river. This runs, with a rapid stream, over a bed of large pebbles, which have, from time to time, being washed down from the mountains, by the torrents. Notwithstanding its rapidity, it is very shallow, for in fording it, the water did not rise higher than the knees of our horses.

Thence the road led along some uncultivated spots, till, at half past four o'clock, we reached a large and deep hollow, which is called *het Moddergat*, or the *Mudhole*. In it lay seven farms; which produced much wine, and but very little corn.

About half past five o'clock, riding round the foot of the *Heldere*, or *Clear*, Mountain, we entered *Hottentot Holland*, and presently afterwards we came to the farm of *DE Vos*.

Hottentot Holland is a flat country, and has derived its name from its resemblance, in this respect, to our own.

It lies within a range of hills, that surround it on the north, east, and south. To the west, a flat sandy beach, of full half a
Dutch

Dutch mile in breadth, extends along the side of *Falſe-Bay*.

I computed this tract of country to be about four Dutch miles in circumference ; it contains eight farms, or cultivated ſpots of ground.

In the beginning of this century, Governor VAN DER STEL had appropriated to himſelf the whole of this diſtrict, or had granted ſome parts of it to his particular favourites, among which was one perſon S——, of whom it was ſaid, by old people, who had known him in their youth, that he laboured with more zeal in extending and improving his vineyards and cornfields upon earth, than the ſpiritual vineyard to which his vocation ought to have rendered him more attentive.

He was once preaching at the *Cape*, and hearing ſeveral carts ride by the church, he ſuddenly ſtopped in the middle of his ſermon, and called out to the clerk, “ Pri-
“ thee, my friend, look out, and ſee whether
“ that is my wine which is going by.”

The object of Mr. VAN DER STEL was, that all the corn and wine wanted by the Company, ſhould, in time, be only furniſhed by him, or his minions and dependants, that,

by

by that means, the colonists might be impoverished ; his maxim being, that people in a state of indigence and dependence, are the easiest to be governed *.

The farm of DE Vos was the place where we intended to pass the night ; it is, in fact, the first that occurs on entering *Hottentot Holland* from the side of *Stellenbosch*. Although it was already dark, and five of us came together, for a son of the widow GROENENWALD had joined us, in order to shew us the way, we received a hearty welcome from this hospitable countryman, and were soon as easy and familiar together, as if we had known each other our whole lives.

We observed no derangement, or extraordinary bustle in the family, on account of so

* Since the abuse of authority by Governor VAN DER STEL, and by several others of the Company's servants, they have been strictly prohibited from holding any farms. In lieu thereof, several perquisites have been allowed them ; such as the *dispenser*, or purveyor, five per cent on all wares imported or exported, the collector has two and a half per cent on the monies, the storekeeper four, the commissary of the hospital five, and the inspector of the auctions five per cent, on all goods sold by auction ; and all this, beside their usual monthly salary. So that it is only some few of the higher people in office that have a small villa for their pleasure near the Cape, but whence no commodities may be carried out, or disposed
• • 7.

many unexpected guests. A good supper of nine dishes, and comfortable separate beds for each of us, proved that we were not the first who had experienced the hospitality of these honest people.

As the chief inducement for my making this little excursion, was to obtain some knowledge of the situation, and the produce of the country, as well as to discover what could conduce to the furtherance of the plan of the Company in agitation, before alluded to, and on which head I was sure of procuring much better, and more impartial, information from the country people, than from the Company's servants at the *Cape*, I equally made particular enquiries concerning the fame of this DE Vos, who appeared to me to be a man of sound judgment.

What MELK had told me the day before, gave me an opportunity of making my enquiries with greater exactness. Without, however, that I named the other, DE Vos told me the same that he had done with respect to *Muscle* and *Saldanha* Bays, equally from his own experience, having been at both places several times. He added, that, in particular, at *Muscle-Bay*, there was much excellent corn-ground, and that there

were

were fields, which would admit of an hundred *muds* of feed-corn being sown in one patch, without any intervention of barren or unprofitable soil.

He thought, likewise, that there was a safe birth for ships in the bay, where they might even be sheltered from the E.S.E. wind*.

In

* This harbour, though rather open to the easterly winds, and not resorted to by ships except in cases of necessity, might, in many respects, prove very useful were it better known. SPARRMAN informs us, that there is a good sandy bottom for anchorage, and a small creek or inlet to the south-west, with depth of water sufficient for a ship, and a rill of fresh water running into it. On the north side of the bay, there is a flat shore, where boats may approach with safety. In the journal of the voyage of the Dutch admiral P. VAN CAERDEN, there is an account of the first discovery of this bay; that commander returning in 1601, with two ships, from the Indies, cast anchor on the 8th of July here, *to repair one of the vessels that was very leaky, and had lost a great part of her sheathing*; they found no other refreshments than water and muscles, and hence they gave the bay the name of *Muscle-Bay*; they left it on the 14th, after having *completed the purposes for which they entered it*: these vessels coasted along from this place to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and likewise cast anchor in, and gave names to, *Veesch* or *Flesh* Bay, and *Visch* or *Fish* Bay, calling them from the nature of the supplies of provisions they obtained in each. The narrow policy of the Dutch East-India Company has always been directed to prevent the true situation of the whole of this coast from becoming known.

Little,

In riding hither, I had observed that there was a large inlet of the sea before the district
of

Little, therefore, can with certainty be said of it; but if secure harbours be discovered along it, the benefits to be derived from them would be very important. Farther to the eastward, is *Agoa*, or *Blettenberg's* Bay, which, though it is only an open road, is spacious, and affords good anchorage for the largest ships, sheltered from the northeast, west, and south winds; there is plenty of fresh water, the bay abounds in fish, and the rocks are covered with excellent oysters. The finest timber grows in the neighbourhood of these bays; and if, instead of having it brought by land-carriage to the *Cape*, a navigation were established, the difference would be immense, both to the sellers and to the buyers. Among the various sorts of timber, either unknown, or extremely rare in Europe, the following abound here, viz. *geelhout*, or yellow wood (*ilex crocea*), which is of a yellow colour, almost like box, and of a close texture; it is used for making of furniture; *buckhout* (*olea capensis*); *roode else*, or red alder (*cunonia capensis*); the *keureboom* (*sophora capensis*); *zwarte yzerhout*, or black ironwood (*gardenia rotundifolia*); *zwartbast* (*royena villosa*); and *doornhout*, or thornwood (*mimosa nilotica*); which are all used in the construction of waggons and their appurtenances; *essenhout*, the ash (*ekerbergia capensis*), which is hard and of a close texture, and is used for making of tools and implements of various kinds; *olyvehout*, olive wood (*olea Europea*), which is a heavy, strong wood, of a brown colour, used in the construction of mills; *wilde catjepiering* (*gardenia thunbergia*), a strong kind of wood used for clubs; *stinkhout*, or stinkwood, which is a beautiful brown wood, like *walnut-tree-wood*; household furniture of all kinds is made of it; it is susceptible of the finest polish, and has the valuable property of being proof against the attacks of worms; it has its name from the excrementitious odour which
it,

of *Hottentot Holland*, in which it appeared to me, that a ship might lie sheltered from both wind and sea, to take in the produce of the country, as well as what might be conveyed hither from the interior parts.

To ascertain this, I particularly questioned DE Vos, who frequently went thither to fish, respecting his opinion on the subject. He gave for answer, that with regard to the lying of a ship there, he conceived that there was a safe birth in twenty and less fathom water, and a good sandy bottom, in the south-east or good monsoon; but that the shore was, in most places, lined with a range of sunken rocks, although not in so uninterrupted a chain, but that there were some passages between them, through which small vessels might reach the shore, to load goods. This was confirmed to me, when I returned to the *Cape*, by old Mr. KERSTEN, who had many years lived as resident at *Falſe-Bay*, and had seen a large English ship anchor in safety at the place in question.

it exhales when cut down, but which goes away as soon as it is dried; *camassiebout*, which is used for veneering; it is one of the finest and heaviest kinds of wood; &c. Some of these might, perhaps, if access to the immense forests which produce them were easy, become articles of trade, even to Europe. T.

Possibly

Possibly the difficulty of landing might not be found so great as is supposed, if proper surveys were to be made by intelligent people. It is certain, that if the conveyance of produce to the *Cape* could, in this manner, be made easy, it would afford a considerable advantage both to the Company, to the colonists of this district, and to others situated over the mountains. The disadvantages which the colonists labour under at present, will plainly appear, if we consider that, according to the universal testimony of the inhabitants of this district, the expence of the conveyance of every cartload to the *Cape*, which is at the distance of twelve Dutch miles, must be calculated at six rixdollars, so that the farmers here cannot possibly sell the cartload of ten *muds* of wheat, or of one leager of wine, for the same price, as those who have their settlements from three to five Dutch miles from the *Cape**.

If

* Every new-made cart costs one hundred and eighty rixdollars. This high rate is chiefly caused by the scarcity of wood required for the construction, which the Company formerly used to have sent from *Holland*. This, however, is
not

If we suppose that, of the ~~six~~ rixdollars per cartload, here saved, only the half be to the benefit of the Company, and the other half to that of the colonists, it would be sufficient to compensate for the little trouble which the accurate investigation of this matter would occasion.

Although *Hottentot Holland* has few corn-fields, and is chiefly used for the cultivation of the vine, this would, nevertheless, make a difference of three rixdollars upon every leager of wine, for a cart can load but one leager at a time : and the lands situated over the hills, which almost all produce more corn than wine, would reap the benefit of it upon their grain.

Yet as all this, unfortunately, does not agree with the self-interest of the Company's servants, I firmly believe, that these measures, calculated for the mutual advantage of the Company, and of their colonists,

not now practised, but most of the timber wanted is brought, with much trouble and inconvenience, over the mountains, from an extensive forest, situated several days' journey from the *Cape*; and it may not be cut without a special permission from the government.

will

will never be endeavoured to be put in execution *.

The

* These causes, and perhaps the supineness of the direction in Holland, and their considering the *Cape* as a subordinate establishment, have been the means, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice, of its being a yearly charge upon them, instead of yielding any revenue. In the hands of a more enterprising nation, it may perhaps be rendered a colony of more intrinsic and territorial value, than even its relative importance, as a place of refreshment, and resort, for the navigation of the Indies. Of the numerous catalogue which may be formed, of articles for trade, actually to be met with, or easy to be introduced into this country, none but its corn and wine have hitherto made any figure in the records of commerce. Peas, beans, and butter, indeed, are sometimes exported to the Indies: the farmers, who have a tolerable share of pasture-ground, make from 2,000 to 3,500*lb.* of butter annually, which they carry to the *Cape* in one or two journies, and dispose of it to the town's people at from three to six stivers per pound, who resell the greatest part to the ships at a profit of from 20 to 100 per cent. The wool of their sheep, though extremely coarse, has, in one or two instances, been manufactured into common cloth, and might perhaps be brought into use for the consumption of the country people. An inconsiderable quantity of oil is procured from the seals and penguins, which abound in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, and the skins of the former are much used in the colony; but the spermaceti, and other whales, which are especially remarkably numerous in *St. Helena* and *Saldanha* Bays, have hitherto been wholly neglected. An article, however, which has of late been exported from the *Cape*, is gum aloe; it is procured from the leaves of the *aloe perfoliata*, which is very abundant in many parts of the country: PETER DE WITT, a farmer still living, was the first who prepared this gum here, and he,

in

The next day, being Sunday, the 24th of July, we left DE Vos's at nine o'clock in the morning,

in consequence, obtained the exclusive privilege of delivering it to the Company, whence the quantity produced has always been small : the juice, tapped from the leaves, generally yields one-third of solid gum ; it is packed in wooden boxes, containing from three to five *cwt.* and is sold at the *Cape* for three and four stivers per pound. The *Cape* aloe is more transparent, and equal, if not superior, in quality, to those sorts, sold under the denominations of aloe succotrine, and aloe hepatica. Almonds are likewise produced here, and are bought by the ships' officers to carry for sale to *Batavia*. Tobacco is sometimes cultivated by the planters for their own use, and hemp by the Hottentots, for the purpose of smoaking, instead of the former ; but neither have ever been thought of as articles of trade. The wax-shrubs (*myrica querifolia*, and *cordifolia*) afford a substance resembling bees'-wax ; the berries of them, which are quite black, are covered with a greyish powder : they are gathered when ripe, in the month of March, and boiled till this white powder is melted, and floats on the surface of the water, like fat ; this, when skimmed off and cooled, grows hard, and resembles grey, impure wax ; it is used by the farmers for candles, which burn better than those made of tallow : Might not the use of it become more extended ? From the *mimosia nilotica* gum arabic might be collected. The camphor-tree (*laurus camphora*) has been brought here from the East-Indies, and has thriven very well, yet no pains have been taken to encrease the number, or to collect any camphor. Turmeric (*curcuma longa*) might be cultivated here, for it is found in the Company's garden. The mulberry-tree (*morus nigra*) flourishes ; and might not silkworms be reared here ? The olive-tree (*olea Europea*) is common on the hills near the town, and in other places, growing wild ; its fruit is said seldom to come

morning, and rode on to *Vergeleegen* (far-situated), that famous feat, formerly laid out,
in

come to maturity : Will not cultivation and care alter this? Orchilla-weed may also be procured at the *Cape*, which has otherwise been exclusively imported from the Canaries, but it has not hitherto been sought after, and perhaps it is very little known that it does exist here. *Indigoferas* of several sorts are enumerated among its productions, by the different botanists who have explored this country ; but the manufacture of indigo has never been attempted. We have the assurance of LE VAILLANT, that in the district of *Waveren*, otherwise called that of the *four-and-twenty-rivers*, indigo, as well as sugar and cotton, might be cultivated with success ; in this district, besides corn and wine, the planters have engaged in the raising for the Cape market, where they have no competitors, all kinds of fruit, lemons, oranges, limes, shaddocks, figs, pomegranates, &c. they are sold at four, five, and six, rixdollars the hundred, and are eagerly purchased. Though this is one of the most fertile and pleasant parts of the colony, it is but thinly inhabited, and contains no more than forty or fifty farms ; much land in it lies waste : the rivers which traverse it fall into the *Berg*-river, and this into the bay of *St. Helena*, at its southern part. By these channels, the produce of this district, together with that of the neighbouring one of *Zwartland*, might be carried to the bay, where there is good anchorage for shipping, and where it would be easy to establish repositories, whence the passage by sea to the *Cape* would be quick and easy. *Saldanha*-Bay, which is well known to be a most excellent and spacious harbour, might likewise serve for an enterport for that part of *Zwartland* which adjoins to it, and is too far from the *Berg*-river to send its produce that way ; and this would be the more useful, as a permanent settlement there would be a great accommodation for the re-
freshment

in the beginning of this century, by Governor A. VAN DER STEL, for his own pleasure, but at the expence of the Company, which afterwards, together with other additional circumstances, was the cause of his being recalled to Europe, by his employers. The whole of this case may be amply seen in the memorial which he drew up of it, and the contra-memorial of the colonists, whom he had treated in a very unreasonable and unjust manner, sending some of them prisoners

freshment of ships, that might not be able to put into *Table-Bay*. It is surprising that, notwithstanding the many swarms of bees, which fly wild about the country, no hives have yet been introduced, nor any honey or wax collected; Dr. SPARRMAN says, that he neither saw nor heard of any one that kept home-bees, except a young lad, the son of a colonist, near *Constantia*, who used sometimes to set out empty chests and boxes, in which a wild swarm would settle without fail in the space of a few days; but the liquorish lad soon destroyed the hive, and consumed the honey almost immediately. Ivory, though elephants are now very scarce near the *Cape*, is a commodity that may also be procured here. Even ostrich feathers, which fashion has rendered an almost indispensable article of dress to our fair countrywomen, may be added to the list of marketable wares. In short, though it is scarcely possible that all these should succeed, as articles of trade, yet trials may be made, and encouragements offered; while the enumeration of them suffices to shew, of what importance this colony may be rendered by an active, enterprising, and liberal nation. T.

to Holland, and aiming at the oppression and impoverishment of all.

He had called this seat *Vergeleegen*, because it is situated full twelve or thirteen hours' ride from the *Cape*, nearly in the deepest part of the valley of *Hottentot Holland*.

The front of the house faced the east. Before it lay a large garden, of a regular octagon form, inclosed by a wall. The walk which led up to the house, was bordered on each side by orange and lemon-trees; but the outer avenue was planted with large oak-trees; they were, however, less in size than those of Europe; between these, stood almond-trees, which were then in blossom, and did not contribute a little to embellish those pleasant walks.

To the south, was a similar long and broad avenue, but bordered with chestnut-trees, the fruit of which was very good.

To the north, lay a large wood of very ancient oaks, which extended also to the west: it had been more extensive, but the present owner of the estate, 'one VLOK, had had a considerable part cut down and cleared, in order to have a full prospect over the flat country

country into *Falfe*-Bay, and the view was now only bounded by the high mountains of *Simon's*-Bay and the west shore.

Along the back of the house stood a row of very high and large camphor-trees, which, with their evergreen foliage, afforded a pleasant summer prospect, even in winter. The leaf of this tree resembles, in some measure, that of the orange and bay-tree, and has the same glossy green hue; it is, however, much smaller: when taken in the mouth, or bruised between the fingers, it has a strong camphorated taste and smell. The wood of the tree is used for all kinds of cabinet-work, and, when polished, is of a light brown colour, with black veins; but it is sold at a dear rate.

The dwelling-house, not to say any thing of the other buildings, as slave-houses, warehouses, stables, &c. is a handsome edifice, though of only one story (as, in fact, all the countryhouses here are, as well as most of the houses at *Capetown*), with a long and broad gallery, which is the sitting and eating-room of the family, and many large apartments on each side.

The garden, the buildings, and the plantations,

tions, all bore very evident signs of the magnificence and wealth of the founder, who spent large sums of money upon this spot; but every thing is now much decayed, as the succeeding proprietors did not possess the same means as Mr. VAN DER STEL, to keep it in proper repair.

The *Laurens*-river, the largest and most rapid which we had met with in this little excursion, runs just without the woods belonging to this estate. We had to cross it twice, and for want of bridges, which are a convenience unknown in this country, we forded it on horseback, the water reaching up nearly as high as our saddles.

Having taken a view of every thing, as well as the shortness of time would admit, we rode away at eleven o'clock, and in half an hour we returned to the farm of DE Vos; whence, after having dined, and heartily thanked our friendly entertainer, we took our departure at half past one o'clock. At four, we rode past *Stellenbosch*, and at half past six, we came to ALBERTYN's farm, near the *Klapmuts*, where we took up our night's lodging.

The next morning, about nine o'clock,
we

we left these honest and hospitable people, on our return to the *Cape*, dined by the way upon bread and butter and a glass of wine, in the open air, not far from *Tiger-Valley*, on the banks of a little rivulet, and in the middle of a grove of low trees, and arrived at the town, at half past four o'clock, in the afternoon.

I was informed, upon my arrival, by Mr. HEMMY, that the mustering of my crew, and dispatch of my vessel, would take place on Friday next, the 29th of July*.

On

* No more than fifteen days had thus elapsed, from the time of my arrival in *Simon's-Bay*, to that of my dispatch, in which the crew had to refresh themselves, and recover from the fatigues of a long and boisterous passage. It may easily be conceived, that their bodies could not, in so short a time, be fully divested of the bad humours, and scorbutic matter, which had been accumulated in them, in the considerable space of time they had been on board, namely, from the 6th of January, the day I received them at *Rammekens*, till the 13th of July; and this was very apparent afterwards, when I was at sea; for in a few days, the usual ships' diseases manifested themselves on board; as likewise continued fevers, which were immediately followed by a total prostration, arising from the impure state of the whole frame, and the corruption of the fluids; these fevers were also accompanied by the scurvy, which soon likewise made its appearance. It is true, that the most and worst sickness occurred among those of my crew, who had been sent, for a few days, as a help, on board

On Wednesday, the 27th, I rode in the forenoon to the Company's garden called

board of the ship *P*—; this vessel had arrived at the *Cape*, with eighty sick; cleanliness seemed to have been very little attended to on board of her, for she was between the decks so choaked with filth, that some of my officers assured me, they had never seen so much dirt, not even on board of any French ship. Though it is probable, that my men were infected by the sick of this vessel, it is, however, reasonable to conclude, that their bodies were not in a perfect state of health, nor their fluids wholly purified, or this contagion could never have spread so rapidly among them.

I should, therefore, be of opinion, that the outwardbound ships should stop longer at the *Cape*, and stay there four weeks, instead of a fortnight, in order that by a proper length of time to refresh, the bodies of the sailors might be cleansed of their accumulated peccant matter. Returning thus on board in good health, and with renewed strength, they would not only be able to cope with the fatigues of the remainder of the voyage, but arriving in the Indies, with a hale and healthy frame of body, they would, in some measure, be able to withstand the first attacks of the unwholesome climate.

It may, perhaps, be objected to this, that the additional charges to be incurred by a longer stay, would considerably increase the ship's expences, But this is of little importance, for the articles of refreshment procured at the *Cape*, do not cost much; my ship, the *Oxenkirk*, consumed during her stay:

4,708 pounds of fresh meat, amounting, at $5\frac{1}{2}$ pen-	
nings ($\frac{1}{4}$ of a shilling, or penny) per pound, to	£ 80 18 8
40 mds of wheat, for baking, at £ 5 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ per md	234 13 8
	<hr/>
	£ 315 12 0

Thus a ship staying half a month longer, would only expend twice that sum.

Newland,

Newland, which is about one Dutch mile and a half from the *Cape*, where the governor, Mr. VAN PLETTENBERG, then was, in order to take leave of his excellency.

On the following Saturday, the Company's hoy, the *Neptune*, commanded by Captain DE HAAS, came to an anchor in *Table-Bay*. This vessel had left the harbour on the 20th of May, with goods for *Falje-Bay*; when at sea, she had been overtaken by a violent storm, and driven upon the reef of *Anguillas*, where she continued to swerve about till the 22d of June; on the evening of that day, the same on which we had been harassed by the dreadful hurricane before described, she rolled away all her three masts. She was then driven to the southward, as far as 41° , and got sight of the islands *Dina* and *Marfeveen*. They had, for a great part of the time, been in want of water; but they fortunately had plenty of wine on board, so that they kept themselves alive with bread and wine.

The next morning, being Sunday, the 31st of July, I set off, at eight o'clock, in company with Mr. ERNST, for *Falje-Bay*, where we arrived at one. We found my
 thin

ship in good condition, and ready for sea ; but the wind blowing from the s.e. for this, and the two following days, we were prevented from sailing.

This morning, came to an anchor here, the Company's ship *P—*, Captain *S—*, who had sailed from *Goerée*, on the 12th of May, for the chamber of *Delft*, with two hundred and nine men, of whom twenty-eight had died on the passage, eighty were now confined by sickness, and the remainder were mostly unfit for the ship's duty : and as, for want of hands, they were incapable of mooring the ship, or taking in their sails, I directly sent them sixty men, to assist them in doing this, who I let remain on board her till Tuesday evening.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from FALSE-Bay.—Violent Thunder-storm.—Meteors called Castor and Pollux.—Dreadful epidemical Disorder which raged on Board.—The Surgeon's Report concerning it.—Treatment of the Sick, &c.—Pass the Islands AMSTERDAM and ST. PAUL.—Bear away for NEW HOLLAND.—Disappointed in falling in with it.—Pass the Latitude of the Trial's Rocks.—View of the South Coast of JAVA.—Range along it.—Great Inaccuracy of the Company's Charts.—Passage of the Straits of SUNDA.—Anchorage at BATAVIA.

ON Wednesday morning, the 3d of August, the wind being northwest, we weighed anchor, with a stiff gale, accompanied by hail and rain, and got under sail at eleven o'clock, A.M. saluting the road with seven guns, which was returned us by the ship *P—*, with five. At two o'clock, P.M. we were out of the bay, and steered our course first in a southerly direction, for fear the wind should come round to that quarter. At this time my crew consisted of three hundred

dred and twenty-three men, all seemingly in good health.

The next morning, the wind still blew hard from the N.W. and we saw a sail lying by to the S.W. with a Prince of Orange's flag* flying from her mizen-topmasthead. We passed her at the distance of a quarter of a league, and should have hailed her, but the high wind made us think it not safe to approach near enough to understand each other.

On the 9th and 10th of August, we had violent thunderstorms in the evening; the claps of thunder were so loud and incessant, that the ship shook by their explosion; and the flashes of lightning shot between the masts, and so close along the hull of the ship, that we were apprehensive of the loss of the former, and of fire in the latter. Large hailstones fell at the same time, accompanied by rain, and a high wind; yet we suffered no great damage from this concussion of the elements.

I am of opinion, that the iron spindles for the vanes, which are generally used at the

* See the note to page 141, of the first volume. T.

topmastheads, are very bad in thunderstorms, as they cannot but attract the electric matter; the topmasts of my ship had not such spindles, but knobs.

On the 10th, at six o'clock in the evening, when the thunderstorm was at the highest, we saw the meteors called Castor and Pollux, upon the topmastedarms, which gave a clear light, and appeared like small lambent flames; shortly after which the storm abated.

We likewise saw them, on the mizen and maintopmasted-arms, on the 5th of September, at eleven o'clock at night, when we had a lowering sky, with thunder and lightning, but not so violent as at former times.

Towards the end of the month of August, the scurvy began to appear, more and more, among the people; and on the 1st of September, we lost two men by it, who had only begun to complain the day before, and who died, as it were, in the midst of their usual occupations. This soon convinced me, that my fears, respecting the ill consequences of the too short stay of my men at the *Cape*, were not imaginary. Since my departure from that place, I had, however,
given

given the whole of the ship's crew soap, made of fresh mutton, twice a week, and had made the soldiers exercise, when it was good weather, every day, to keep them in motion.

But this was only a commencement of our sufferings. It was not alone the scurvy which manifested itself on board, but likewise a most malignant putrid fever, which attacked a great number, so that, on the 10th of September, we had one hundred on the sicklist. The soldiers, and such sailors who had not before been at sea, were chiefly the victims of this disorder; but it attacked, in particular, those who had been on board of the ship *P*——.

The first symptoms of the fever, and which occurred some days before it actually came on, were a violent headache and pains in the stomach, debility, and loss of appetite. Some died during the first fit of the fever; others two or three days afterwards. A strong putrid smell was perceived even before they died, and many of the bodies emitted so dreadful a stench, in half an hour after the breath had left them, that they were forced to be instantaneously committed

mitted to the deep. Immediately after their death, and, in some cases, even before it, the bodies were blotched with black and blueish spots, especially upon the neck and breast, which indicated an entire corruption of the whole system.

The following is a relation of the commencement, progress, and termination, of this sickness, as couched in the report concerning it made to me by my surgeon, Mr. L. VINKE.

“ This epidemic began in the latter part
 “ of the month of August, and did not end
 “ till the beginning of October. The suf-
 “ ferers first felt a chilly shivering; then
 “ a listlessness and pain in the joints; this
 “ was followed by a flushing heat exter-
 “ nally, but internally they always com-
 “ plained of cold. Some had a violent
 “ fever, with a throbbing pulsation; others
 “ no fever at all, with a low and weak
 “ pulse. In general, they were overcome
 “ by a sudden debility, in so far, that some
 “ who endeavoured to keep up, fell down
 “ from weakness. Some had their usual
 “ and natural evacuations, others none at all.
 “ Their urine was somewhat turbid, yel-
 “ lowish,

“ lowish, and very sharp. In the beginning,
 “ the tongue was whitish, but afterwards
 “ covered with a brown coat, and with a
 “ black slime over the teeth. In the night,
 “ they were very restless, and generally de-
 “ lirious. Some had violent retchings on the
 “ second day, and brought up a blackish
 “ matter ; yet the patients felt no ease from
 “ it, but experienced a great degree of
 “ anxiety, accompanied by profuse perspira-
 “ tion. On the third day they got a hic-
 “ cough, with a coldness of the extremities ;
 “ some bled, at the same time, copiously
 “ from the nose ; and, at last, they lost the
 “ power of retention of their urine and ex-
 “ crements, which they voided involunta-
 “ rily ; their evacuations were of a dark
 “ brown colour, and intolerably fetid ; at
 “ last, a profuse cold and clammy sweat
 “ came upon them, at which time they died.
 “ I examined some of them, after they were
 “ dead, who were full of purple blotches,
 “ on the breast and face ; I saw two, who
 “ had a blackish spot, of the size of two
 “ handbreadths, along and under the short
 “ ribs, at the place where the liver lies,
 “ which is a certain sign of the entire mor-
 “ tification

“ tification of that part ; and these bodies
 “ were so putrid, that they could not be
 “ kept on board half an hour after the de-
 “ cease. Some of the patients, who had
 “ immediately complained, or given them-
 “ selves in as sick, got, on the fifth, or
 “ seventh, day of their illness, a *diarrhœa* ;
 “ which in some was critical, or favourable,
 “ and in others symptomatic, or incidental :
 “ the *diarrhœa critica* seldom lasted longer
 “ than three or four days ; they voided a
 “ quantity of dark brown and blackish mat-
 “ ter, and the fever then left them entirely ;
 “ these patients were far gone in a decay of
 “ strength, and the worst was, that they
 “ continually relapsed, even four or five
 “ times : three times were the usual run :
 “ and by these continual relapses, many
 “ were also attacked by the scurvy, by
 “ which several of them died. Those who
 “ got a *diarrhœa symptomatica*, had a violent
 “ colic, together with very fetid and loose
 “ stools, sometimes accompanied by the eva-
 “ cuation of a slimy matter, with streaks of
 “ blood running through it. Some of these
 “ patients were attacked by a violent vomit-
 “ ing, hiccough, and convulsions, and, lastly,
 “ they

“ they fell into a profuse cold and clammy
 “ sweat, in which they died. Few of those
 “ who had the *diarrhœa symptomatica* re-
 “ covered, except when the symptoms were
 “ not very violent. Some had their crisis,
 “ or rather metastasis, with a swelling
 “ behind the ears, upon the breast, or
 “ shoulders, which changed to a suppuration,
 “ whereby they were cured. Others again
 “ felt violent pains in the shoulders, knees,
 “ or feet, which, after having lasted two
 “ days, left them, and they recovered.
 “ Those who tried to keep up, and waited
 “ two or three days before they gave them-
 “ selves in as patients, almost all died within
 “ the fourth day after they came under my
 “ care. These were, in general, full of
 “ pustulous spots, and half an hour after their
 “ decease, the abdomen turned quite black,
 “ which is a certain sign of an entire morti-
 “ fication of all the viscera of the belly.
 “ From the time of its commencement, till
 “ the 2d of October, when it ceased, twenty-
 “ nine men died of this disease, beside those
 “ who were carried off by the scurvy, and
 “ other disorders.”

I attribute this dreadful epidemic to no
 other

other cause, than that my healthy men, whom I sent, as abovementioned, as a help, on board of the ship *P* —, caught the infection there; especially since the individuals who had been on board of her, were the first who were attacked by it.

The prevalence of this sickness occasioned so much dismay among those who remained in health, that they imagined that the ship was infected with the plague, and I had the greatest difficulty to convince them, and especially my officers, of the contrary, by daily going myself to visit the sick, to see that they were properly treated, and to encourage and console the poor sufferers, as much as lay in my power.

The sailors who had been much at sea, were the last who were attacked by this disorder, and they, for the most part, recovered.

By this dreadful and malignant disease, as well as by the scurvy, I lost forty-two men of my crew in September, and at the close of that month, I had still one hundred and eight confined by sickness.

In this situation, so distressful to me, we scarcely knew how to proceed. The surgeon

surgeon and his mates did all in their power, and whatever art could devise, according to their best abilities, to stop the progress of the disease; but it may easily be conceived, that, where the number was so great, they could not attend to every individual, with that entire sollicitude, which the nature of the distemper seemed particularly to require.

Besides this, those medicines which were the most necessary, were soon consumed; and what is a most shameful neglect in the equipment of the Company's ships, at least at the chamber of *Zealand*, as I experienced it myself in both my voyages, there was not a single drop of white wine-vinegar to be found on board, which, in these cases, is an article of the utmost necessity, and yet, perhaps, it is charged in account to the Company. However it be, this is certain, that the want of it was the occasion that many of our sick died.

Notwithstanding all this, we yet thought ourselves fortunate, that we met with fine weather, in running down through the southern latitudes, so that the gratings and airholes could always remain open, by which the contamination of the air was greatly moderated;

rated; while, on my part, I took especial care that the sick-ward, which was, as usual, between the first and second decks, was kept clean and neat.

The air in it was continually refreshed and renewed, by the opening of the port-holes, and by a cool-fail, made like a funnel, in the manner of M. DU HAMEL; and at night, when this could not be done, for fear of accidents, the ventilators were kept constantly at work.

I allowed no water to be made use of in cleaning it out, that the moisture might not contribute to encrease the contagion; and on the other hand, daily fumigations were made with juniper-berries and frankincense, likewise by burning of gunpowder, and pouring of vinegar on red-hot bullets.

The cribs of the sick were sprinkled with vinegar, and the patients were directed to wash their hands and faces, and rinse their mouths with it, every morning.

Their victuals consisted, one day, in mutton-broth, with lemonjuice; the next, in rice-porridge; and the third, in bread and beer, with wine; and in the morning they had grouts, with Spanish wine.

Those

Those who recovered were put to a separate mess, and these were allowed, for the first ten days, nothing but spoonmeat, peeled barley, and peas, without their ration of pork or beef, because their stomachs were much too weak to digest these last. It also appeared, that those who had eat a little pork or beef in secret, fell immediately ill again.

To such as remained in health, I gave every day a quartern of wine (which they did not receive else but three times a week), and I caused bitters to be put into their usual morning and evening drams, in order to oppose, as much possible, the commencement of corruption.

Our southern navigation was very good; we met with no bad weather of any consequence, but the winds were almost always too slack, to admit of a quick passage, although it was in the winter-season, in these latitudes.

When, on my former voyage, I passed this way, in the month of January, which is here the middle of summer, we met with much harder winds, and often with violent storms, during which we were frequently obliged

obliged to lie by, which did not once happen this time.

On the 2d of September, in the afternoon, we thought that we saw the island *Amsterdam*; but could not, on account of the haziness of the weather, be certain of it.

On the 5th, we saw a good deal of seaweed, which made us conclude that we had passed the islands of *Amsterdam* and *St. Paul*, or were to the eastward of them: the more so, as the variations of the compass, and two lunar observations, which I had made, according to the manner of M. DE LA CAILLE, corroborated the conjecture.

Upon considering these circumstances, we determined to bear away for the *Land of the Eendragt*, in *New Holland*, in order to correct our reckoning, and to steer for the island of *Java*, so as to fall in with it, to the eastward of the Straits of *Sunda*. But we were frustrated in our hopes of seeing this land, by the southeast tradewind, which we now met with, and which carried us too far to leeward; wherefore, on the 25th of September, we changed our course to N.E. and bore away afterwards in a northerly track, availing likewise of the variation

variation of the compass, in order to get to the eastward of the Straits of *Sunda*; for I found, by several journals, that there was a variation of $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north, at the east end of *Java*, and by my own experience I knew that there was no variation at all at the Straits of *Sunda*.

On the 26th of that month, we passed the latitude in which the *Trial's Rocks* are laid down.

On the 4th of October, a large bunch of green weed floated by the ship, and the next day, half an hour before sunrise, we discovered the south coast of *Java*.

The part which we saw shewed like a very long island, seemingly about eight or nine leagues in length, and appearing to stretch out to the northeastward, mostly in an equal direction, and of a moderate height. The west point appeared craggy and broken, and the east point run gradually round in a circular shape: this was the island called *Noussa Baron*.

Just after eight o'clock in the morning, we saw, a little to the westward of this land, the spiry summit of a mountain, which appeared above the clouds, and looked

ed

ed of a blue colour, but underneath, we could not see any land: this mountain was higher than any one I had ever seen.

The land which appeared afterwards, during this day, was high, bare, and stony, with a rocky shore; and in some places shoals and rocks, which seemed to extend about a league from the land.

The next day, at eight o'clock, A.M. we thought we saw the *Hoornshoofd*, or the *Horn*, being a high mountain, so called, N.E. by N. from us. The coast was still higher, and equally bare; but, a little before noon, we perceived some trees upon the tops of the hills. At half past two o'clock, P.M. we were abreast of a large opening, which seemed to run far inland, and appeared to us to be the mouth of a river. The land shewed here in four ridges, lying behind each other, rising gradually higher, in proportion as they were more inland, and all of them being wholly covered with thick woods. At four o'clock we saw a building close to the shore, which looked like a fort; this edifice, together with some habitations which we saw adjacent to it, I then thought constituted the old city of *Mataram*, at least
the

the observation of the *Hoornshoofd*, and the distance we had since sailed along the coast, indicated as much; but his excellency, Governor VAN DER PARRA, told me afterwards that that city lay farther inland. At eight o'clock we had soundings in one hundred and twenty-five fathoms, blueish clay. At night, having little or no wind, we made no progress, but floated about without any determinate direction.

At daybreak the next morning, being the 7th of October, we could but just see the land, and I accordingly steered again directly for it. At eight o'clock, we discovered a very low coast, which began at a middling elevated point, where the high land terminated.

This low land was entirely covered with trees, among which we perceived several groves of cocoa-nut, and areca trees, the shore was bordered by a white beach, against which the sea rolled without interruption.

At ten o'clock, we saw, among the woods, a very high tree, which spread out its branches very far, and appeared, at a distance, like a
beacon;

beacon ; and from the masthead we discerned several negrees, or villages.

We here saw high land again, though the low land continued all along before it, till three o'clock, P.M. when we again saw nothing but low land with trees.

We sailed along the shore, from eight o'clock, A.M. till sunset, at the distance of a league, over the depth of thirty or forty fathoms, black sandy ground, like fine gunpowder.

The land which we beheld in the morning of the eighth of October, shewed like a double range of broken hills, of a middling height. Shortly afterwards we saw the appearance of an island, in the N.N.W. on each side of which there was a deep inlet, with high mountains inland ; we conceived that these were *Maurice* and *Dirk de Vries* Bays. We likewise saw a high cape, and land N.W. by N. which, at three o'clock, P.M. bore due north from us. Just beyond, and east of this cape, lay a rock above water, upon which the sea broke.

Hence the coast stretched, as far as we could see, W. by N. and W.N.W. being tolerably

tolerably high land, covered with trees. We sailed along it, two and a half leagues from the shore, and saw a heavy surf breaking upon it. Our depth of water was forty and forty-five fathoms.

At sunset we steered west, but finding the depth decreasing, we edged gradually away to the south, as far as s.s.w.

At daybreak, the following morning, being the 9th of October, we found ourselves close under a woody island. We here perceived that the south coast of *Java*, instead of being laid down, in the Company's charts, with requisite accuracy, is, on the contrary, placed very erroneously; for, with the course which we had steered at night, we ought, according to the charts, not only not to have approached the land, but to have bore away from it more and more. I am not the only one, who has been deceived in this respect, for having accidentally on board a journal of the Company's ship *Zuidbeveland*, commanded by Captain HALFMAN, I found the same occurrence noted down in it, at the same place.

It is really to be lamented, that so powerful a body as the East-India Company, and
whose

whose prosperity so much depends upon the safe and prosperous voyages of their ships, should trouble themselves so little with the improvement of navigation in general, and the correction of their charts in particular. I could adduce many instances of their faultiness, both with respect to the Indies, and to the coast of Africa. Other nations pursue this object with indefatigable assiduity, especially the English, whose maps are, in general, infinitely preferable to our's.

On the 9th and 10th of October, we had very little prospect of the land, by reason of the continual rain, accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, which we experienced those days; except that we saw, at intervals, the blue summits of the mountains breaking through the clouds. Here we caught a dorado, which afforded us an agreeable refreshment.

On the following days, and till the 14th of the month, we had continual rains, mostly with dead calms; or else the little breezes which we had, were in general westerly.

But on the 15th, the wind blew so hard from the west, that we could not even
 carry

carry a topfail, with two reeves ; this was accompanied by a strong current, setting to the east, so that we continually lost ground. We therefore determined to bear away to the south, in order to get into the easterly tradewind again, and to run down so far to the westward with it, that we could make the Straits of *Sunda*.

On the 20th, finding that we had advanced far enough for this purpose, we again steered north ; on the 22d, in the morning, we got sight of the west point of *Java* ; at nine o'clock, P.M. we succeeded in gaining the passage between *Java* and *Prince's Island*, and at ten we anchored close to *New Island*.

On the evening of the ensuing day, we reached the second, and, on the day after, the third point of *Java*. On the 25th we dropped anchor, at night, close to the point of *Bantam*, whence we set sail the next day at noon ; and on the 28th of October, we anchored, at four o'clock, P.M. in the road of *Batavia*, whence seven ships had sailed the same morning for *Holland*, being the first division of the return-fleet.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from BATAVIA for SAMARANG.—Pass the Reef of SEDARY.—Of CHERIBON.—Mount TAGAL.—The Two Brothers.—Anchorage in the Road of SAMARANG.—Directions for sailing along the Coast.—Account of the Government at SAMARANG.—Dissention between the SOESOEHOENAM and MANKO BOENI. — The latter supported by the Company.—The Empire of JAVA parcelled out.—The Seacoast ceded to the Company.—They make themselves Masters of BALAMBOUANG.—SOERA CARTA, the Capital of the SOESOEHOENAM.—D'JOKJE CARTA, that of the Sultan.—Short Account of the Residencies of OELOPAMPANG.—SOURABAYA.—GRISSE.—SAMANAP.—REMBANG.—JOANA.—JAPARA.—SAMARANG.—PACALONGA.—TAGAL —Residents at the Courts of the two Javanese Emperors.—Establishment, Revenues, &c. of this Government.

ON the evening of the 28th of October I informed the governor general, VAN DER PARRA, of my arrival, and learnt that my ship was appointed to sail to *Ambogna*.

A few

A few days afterwards, it was determined that the voyage thither should be made by way of *Macasser*, in order to fetch Mr. BERNARD VAN PLEUREN, the second of that settlement, who was elected governor of *Amboyna*, and to carry him to his new appointment.

The ship being made ready for this voyage, I received my dispatches, on the 2d of December, from the governor general, with orders, to set sail the next day for *Samarang*, where I was to receive directions at what factories in *Java* I was to touch, in order to take in my cargo.

We had on board, sixty-five European sailors, twenty-five lascars, fifty-one soldiers for the settlement at *Macasser*, and nine passengers; namely, the bookkeeper, WARNER, his wife and two children, for *Samarang*; Ensign BOUDON, his wife and son, for *Macasser*; and Ensign FETTER, with KRAMER, a matross, for *Amboyna*.

We sailed on the 3d of December, at nine o'clock, A.M. from the road of *Batavia*, steering first for the island *Edam*, afterwards for the point of *Carawang*, and thence, in eighteen and twenty fathoms
water,

water, in order to pass the reef of *Sedary*, at a tolerable distance.

Having weathered the reef about five o'clock, we steered towards the shore, in order to get into more shoaly water; and at ten, P.M. we came to an anchor, in ten fathoms, as I did not judge it prudent to attempt passing, during the night, the rock which lies three, or three and a half, leagues from the point of *Pamanoekan*, and on which the *Castle of Woerden* was wrecked.

In the night, and on the following day, it blew hard from W.N.W. with a high sea, by which the ship strained very much, as she rode at anchor, so that we saw no chance of weighing our anchor; while, in the mean time, it was dangerous to lie here, if the wind veered to the northward, which would also have much delayed the prosecution of our voyage. We accordingly determined upon cutting the cable; which we did, and set sail, steering, about ten o'clock, A.M. for the point of *Indramaye*, and afterwards along the reef of *Cheribon*, till having passed it, we steered east, during the night.

On the following day we discerned little of the land, on account of the hazy weather,
except

except Mount *Tagal*, which is a volcano, but of which we saw nothing, as it was covered with thick clouds, from its summit, halfway down.

The next day, the 6th of December, at daybreak, we got sight of two hills, closely resembling each other, and called the *Two Brothers*; and a little more to the eastward the hill of *Samarang*, which is somewhat larger and higher; which are the landmarks, by which the chief settlement of this government is distinguished. We anchored in the road of *Samarang*, at eight o'clock in the evening, and I went on shore the next day, to deliver the Company's papers to Mr. ROBERT VAN DER BURG, the governor, and to receive further orders.

Respecting the navigation from *Batavia* to *Samarang*, the following directions may be of service.

On leaving the road of *Batavia*, steer for the island of *Edam*; then between that and the island *Leyden*, or else between *Leyden* and *Enkhuizen*; and afterwards round Point *Carawang*, and so far from the shore, to have offing enough to pass the reef which runs out from *Sedary*; the lead is in this respect

respect the best guide, since you must not suffer it to shoal more than ten fathoms, till this reef be passed, of which you may be certain, in the daytime, when the high trees of *Sedary*, which are a few single trees, easily to be distinguished on account of their height, bear s.s.w. and in the night, steering to the east, in twelve fathoms water, it deepens when you are past the reef; upon which steer more southerly, keeping however your depth, into the bight of *Pamanoekan*, till the water shoals to ten and nine fathoms, when you must steer again more east, in order not to approach too near the shore of *Java*; you may be sure you will then run clear of the rock, upon which the *Castle of Woerden* was lost, although there is sixteen fathoms water close to it: but the safest is to anchor here, during the night. Having doubled the point of *Pamanoekan*, steer for that of *Indraymaye*, in ten, eleven, twelve, and thirteen, fathoms water; upon approaching the last, be sure to keep in those depths, to avoid falling upon the reef of *Cheribon*, which having passed, steer as much to the southward of east, as to retain nineteen or twenty fathoms depth; or in
the

the daytime, keeping within sight of the shore, till you begin to near *Pamalang*, when you must steer so far off shore as to double the rock which lies N.E. by N. from that place: you will then come in sight of the hills of *Tagal*, *Samarang*, and the *Two Brothers*; when the last bear due south, steer for the shore, and afterwards along it, till the ensign's staff of *Samarang* bears S.S.E. and let drop your anchor, in five, or four and a half, fathoms. All along the north coast of *Java*, the bottom is a soft clay.

This government, which is one of the most lucrative for the Company's servants which they have, was twenty years ago only a commandery; but it was changed into a government, upon the considerable acquisition of territory made by the Company, along the seacoast, by cession to them by the *SOESOEHOENAM*, at the conclusion of peace, during the government of Mr. *HARTING*, who terminated the war of *Java*, in which the empire was split into two parts, one remaining under the *SOESOEHOENAM*, and the other becoming subject to the present reigning sultan, *MANKO BOENI*.

It

It is of the utmost importance to the Company that this establishment be well governed, on account of the immediate relation which it has to the two abovementioned Javanese princes, who nourish the most implacable enmity towards each other. The Company would not wish to see a termination of their mutual hatred, for as long as it remains in force, they retain the secure possession of their acquisitions along the seacoast; and though not nominally, they are always, in reality, likewise masters of the inner parts; for, upon uniting with either of these two princes, they can make the balance lean so much against the other, that they are both constrained to remain quiet.

This was, in fact, their object, in fomenting the dissention which arose between the SOESOEHOENAM and MANKO BOENI, and whence the war of *Java* had its origin.

The last-named, a prince of the imperial family, and a descendant of the former SOESOEHOENAM, wanted to have, as an appanage, a certain territory, the province *Mataram*, which had already been allotted
to

to the hereditary prince MASSEYD, son of the SOESOEHOENAM.

This MASSEYD was of a short stature, and an excellent disposition; he gloried in the circumstance that he had never killed an European, except in battle. MANKO BOENI, on the contrary, and his son and heir apparent, more than once, caused the captive Europeans to be pounded in their rice-blocks; or he cut off their genitals, and forced them into their mouths. The last-mentioned, in particular, shewed himself an implacable enemy of all Europeans; and being of a most cruel and bloodthirsty temper, the Company will probably not remain long unmolested, if he ever come into power, provided the fear of the SOESOEHOENAM do not prevent him from attacking them.

As *Mataram* was an extensive and wealthy district, which the Company did not wish to see remain under the power of the SOESOEHOENAM, they clandestinely encouraged MANKO BOENI to require it at the hands of the SOESOEHOENAM. The Company did this, agreeably to their adopted system, of weakening the empire as much as possible, in
order

order to preserve their possessions in *Java* with greater ease ; and they secretly promised MANKO BOENI to maintain him in his pretensions.

Immediately hereupon he left the court, and retired to his domains, where he directly rose in arms against the emperor, and began a civil war.

The Company, in order to save appearances, and to render their conduct more defensible, than if they had openly espoused the part of MANKO BOENI, offered themselves as mediators between these two princes, foreseeing that the SOESOEHOENAM, who relied upon the superiority of his power, far from being conceding, or placable, would reject all overtures of peace, and prosecuting the war with vigour, would endeavour entirely to subdue his opponent.

Exactly as they foresaw, the emperor rejected all offers of conciliation, and entered eagerly into a war which was to end in his discomfiture and disgrace.

There was now the most urgent necessity for the Company to espouse, in earnest, the quarrel of MANKO BOENI, partly in order to persevere in their proposed system, and
partly

partly to secure themselves from the ill will which would infallibly, and not unreasonably, be entertained against them by the SOESOEHOENAM, as he soon became acquainted with the manœuvres they had put in practice, to kindle those flames of discord. And if MANKO BOENI were subdued, the power of the SOESOEHOENAM would thereby be so much augmented, that the Company would, in all probability, have stood in need of the exertion of all their power, to stand against his attack.

Fortune favoured their arms ; and though incalculable sums were expended in the contest, they attained their object—the division and separation of the empire.

A considerable part of the provinces of the empire of *Java*, among which *Mataram* was one of the principal, was given to MANKO BOENI, under the title of Sultan ; the whole of the northeast coast of the island was ceded to the Company, upon condition of their paying a yearly acknowledgement of twenty thousand rixdollars * to the SOESOEHOENAM, who retained possession of the remainder under his former title.

* About 4,350*l* sterling. *T.*

The jurisdiction of this government was further extended by the conquest of the land of *Balambouang*, situated at the most eastern extremity of *Java*.

This province, the productions of which can never yield the Company a sufficient compensation for the blood and treasures which it costs, would doubtless have never become an object of their ambition, if the cupidity of one of their servants had not excited in them the desire of possessing it. Setting no limits to his lust of wealth, he rather, as ordinary methods could not surfeit his rapacity, put the interest of his employers to the hazard, than to suffer his boundless thirst of gold to remain unsatisfied,

The plausible pretext by which the government in India, and afterwards the direction in Holland, were instigated to disturb the tranquillity of this country, which they had, for so many years, looked upon with so much indifference, was the representation, that there was reason to fear that the English wanted to take possession of it; nay, that an expedition for that purpose was already set on foot, and was expected, or
had

had arrived, at the Straits of *Bali*; that they had probably already landed, and would in consequence establish themselves in time, on the island. There was some truth in this report, but the Company would, in all likelihood, never have begun that ruinous war, had it not been for these interested instigations; for their competitors would not have found it an easy matter to establish their trade here, notwithstanding this was so much insisted on at *Samarang*.

In this manner was this empire, formerly so redoubtable, split into three parts; and it has thereby, not only become a less dangerous neighbour to the Company, but is likewise entirely under their controul, by means of their holding the balance between the two abovementioned potentates. Even the prince who has the greatest right to the throne is not appointed heir to the crown, without the consent of the Company; and the nomination of the prime ministers of both the princes is likewise made by the Company.

The capital city of the SOESOEHOENAM is *Soere Carta*, commonly called *Jolo*, and
is

is situated about two days' journey inland, south-east from *Saramang*.

That of the sultan has the name of *D'Jokje Carta*, and lies five days' journey south-west from *Samarang*, at the south side of *Java*, in the province of *Mataram* *.

To the government of *Java's Northeast Coast*, the seat of which is at *Samarang*, belong all the factories, commonly called residencies, which the Company possess from *Oelopampang*, as far as the province of *Cheribon*; which last, in the same manner as *Bantam*, is under the immediate administration of the government at *Batavia*.

The seacoast, thus ceded to the Company, and belonging to the government of *Samarang*, extends from *Oelopampang* to *Tagal*, full one hundred German miles in length: the breadth inland is various, running farther

* The resting-places, or stages, on the road from *Samarang* to *D'Jokje Carta*, are:

from <i>Saramang</i>	to <i>Onara</i>	5 (Dutch) miles.
from <i>Onara</i>	to <i>Jambou</i>	7 ditto.
from <i>Jambou</i>	to <i>Sombou</i>	7 ditto.
from <i>Sombou</i>	to <i>Surrigenent</i>	6 ditto.
and from <i>Surrigenent</i>	to <i>D'Jokje Carta</i>	9 ditto. S.

into

into the country at one place than at another *. It is divided into nine residencies.

Oelopampang

* As Captain BLIGH, on his return from the South Sea, in September, 1789, sailed along this coast in a small schooner which he had purchased at *Timor*, and has given us some particulars respecting the settlements he touched at, the additional information which his account of them contains, may not be unacceptable; we, accordingly, extract the following particulars from his journal.

“ Sunday the 6th. In the afternoon, we saw the high land of Cape *Sandana*, which is the northeast part of *Java*. The next day, we were off the Cape, which is a low point, projecting from the high land. It is placed by the Dutch maps in $7^{\circ} 52'$ south; but, according to my observation, and our estimated distance from the land, I make it in $7^{\circ} 46'$.

“ We steered to the westward, along the coast of *Java*, and on the 10th, at noon, we anchored off *Passourwang*, in two fathoms, distant from the shore half a league; the entrance of the river bearing s.w. The coast hereabouts is so shoal, that large ships are obliged to anchor three or four miles from the land. As soon as we were at anchor, I got in my boat, and went on shore. The banks of the river, near the entrance, were mud, on which grew a few mangrove-bushes. Among them, we saw hogs running, and many were lying dead in the mud, which caused a most intolerable stench, and made me heartily repent having come here; but proceeding about a mile up the river, the course of which was serpentine, we found a very pleasant country, and landed at a small and well-constructed fort. The houses at *Passourwang* are neatly built, and the country appears to be well cultivated. The produce of this settlement is rice, of which they export large quantities. There are but few Dutch here; the Javanese
“ are

Oelopampang is the first, beginning from the east. This settlement was only established

“ are numerous, and their chief lives with considerable splendour. They have good roads, and posts are established along the coast; and it appears to be a busy and well-regulated settlement. Latitude $7^{\circ} 36'$ south.

“ The next day, about noon, we sailed; and on the 12th in the evening, anchored in *Sourabaya*-road, in seven fathoms: the flagstaff bearing $s \frac{1}{4} w.$ distance from the shore one mile. We found riding here seven square-rigged, and several smaller vessels. *Sourabaya* is one of the most pleasant places I ever saw. It is situated on the banks of a river, and is a mile and a half distant from the sea-shore, so that only the flagstaff can be seen from the road. The river is navigable up to the town for vessels of 100 tons burthen, and the bank on one side is made convenient for tracking. The Chinese carry on a considerable trade here, and have a town on the side of the river opposite to *Sourabaya*. The country near the town is flat, and the soil light, so that they plough with a single bullock, or buffalo. Our latitude observed in *Sourabaya* road, was $7^{\circ} 11'$ south.

“ On the 17th, we sailed from *Sourabaya*. At noon, we anchored at *Griffie*, which is a town, with a small fort, belonging to the Dutch. We remained here about two hours. Latitude of *Griffie* $7^{\circ} 9'$ south.

“ The navigation through the Straits of *Madura* is so intricate, that with the little opportunity I had, I am unable to undertake a description of it. The next day, September the 18th, having passed the straits, we bore away to the westward, along the coast of *Java*. We had regular soundings all the way to *Samarang*, off which place we anchored on the 22d, in the afternoon; the church bearing *s.e.* distance from the shore half a league, depth of water two fathoms.

“ Th:

blished after the war of *Balambouang*, and is under the direction of a junior merchant. It is expected that it will yield a considerable quantity of rice, but it has not hitherto been able to furnish any.

Sourabaya is the next ; the chief of which has, at present, the rank of senior merchant, and the title of commander of the eastern district. It mostly yields rice.

Upon this follows *Griffsee*, where the resident has the rank of merchant, and the chief produce of which is also rice.

Samanap, situate on the island of *Madura*, is the residence of a junior merchant. It yields no article of trade that I know of,

“ The shoalness of the coast here, makes the road of *Samarang* very inconvenient, both on account of the great distance which large ships (of which there were several in the road) are obliged to lie from the shore, and of the landing, which is in a river, that cannot be entered before half-flood. This river resembles the one at *Paffourwang*, the shores being low, with offensive dead animals lying about them. *Samarang* is surrounded by a wall and ditch. Here is a very good hospital, and a public school, chiefly for teaching the mathematics. They have likewise a theatre. Provisions are remarkably cheap here, beef being at ten doits per pound, and the price of a fowl twelve doits. The latitude of *Samarang* is 6° 57' south.

“ On the 26th, we sailed from *Samarang*, and on the 1st of October, we anchored in *Batavia-road*.” T.

and

and serves only to keep a watchful eye over the island in which it lies.

Then follows *Rembang*, where formerly a junior merchant was stationed, but the chief has now the rank of merchant. It yields salt and timber, and is the place where the small vessels of the Company are built *.

At a little distance from *Rembang* lies *Joana*, which is under the controul of a junior merchant. It yields rice and timber, likewise a little indigo and cotton-yarn.

Then comes *Japara*, where the resident has the rank of merchant. Its productions are the same as those of *Joana*.

The next is *Samarang*, the residence of the governor of *Java*, for the Company. The chief produce of its district is rice and cotton-yarn.

Farther on is *Pacalonga*, governed by a junior merchant, and yielding sugar and rice.

And, lastly, the most to the westward, *Tagal*, where a merchant is the resident, which produces rice.

Besides the residents at these places along

* A ship of 500 tons, and three or four smaller vessels, are annually built here for the service of the Company. T.

the coast, those at the courts of the SOESOE-HOENAM, and the sultan, are also subordinate to this government. There are two at each, the first having rank of senior merchant, and the second that of merchant; with the difference, however, that at *Soera Carta* the first is a captain in the military, while at *D'Jokje Carta*, they are both belonging to the corps of *pennifts*.

The Company maintain a body of about one hundred and fifty men, in the service of each of these princes, nominally as a body-guard in honour of them; but this number was not complete when I was at *Samarang*, there being a great want of men in this government *.

Both

* The whole establishment of the Company, in the government of *Java's Northeast Coast*, consisted, in 1776-1777, of 234 persons in civil, and 13 in ecclesiastical, employments; 35 surgeons and assistants, 109 belonging to the artillery, 268 seamen and marines employed on shore, 1,356 soldiers, and 30 mechanics; in all 2,045 Europeans. The governor has a very lucrative office; it is estimated to yield from 80 to 100,000 rixdollars, or nearly 20,000*l.* sterling annually. He is, therefore, generally superseded in two or three years, and must, in his turn, make room for a more unfledged successor, that each may have his due share of the good things of the land. The greatest part of this immense revenue accrues from the trade which the governor is enabled to carry on. His ostensible emoluments,

Both these Javanese princes have a number of children, by means of the many concubines they take, so that the portion of

emoluments, besides his salary, consist in $\frac{1}{10}$ of an allowance of five per cent, which is granted to the Company's servants; the rest being distributed in various proportions to the inferior officers, on all the import and export duties, and other territorial sources of revenue of the Company, and in a yearly contribution levied from the strand-regents, as they are called, or native magistrates of the several districts, amounting together to 1,713 Spanish dollars. Besides the articles mentioned by our author, a large quantity of lentils, called here *cadjang*, which are much used for the consumption of the common people, with some cardemon (the *amomum compactum*), ginger (*amomum zinziber*), and turmeric, are exported from this colony. They are mostly employed in the country-trade. Part, however, of its produce comes to Europe. In 1778, the following goods, brought from *Java's Northeast Coast*, were sold in Holland, viz.

20,000*lb.* of indigo, at *f.*6 (11*s.* sterling) per *lb.* which stood the Company in *f.*1 10 (2*s.* 9*d.*).

50,000*lb.* of turmeric.

and 65,000*lb.* of cotton-yarn.

On the other hand, this colony takes a large quantity of opium (to the amount of *f.*1,500,000, or about 136 000*l.* sterling, annually), silk clothes, India piecegoods, and European manufactures, on all which large profits accrue both to the Company and to their servants. The statements of Governor MOSSEL, make the yearly receipts of the Company here amount to *f.*400 000, and the charges to *f.*380,000; but, in 1779, the former were *f.*436,874, and the latter only *f.*281,873, shewing a favourable balance of *f.*155,001, or about 14,000*l.* sterling, which makes a handsome appearance, if we consider the heavy establishment. T.

each

each child is not very brilliant, and some of them are merely common regents at different places: thus I met with one, at the residency of *Joana*, who was *tommagong*, or regent, of the province of *Patti*, and at the same time uncle of the reigning *SOE-SOEHOENAM*.

CHAPTER V.

Combats of Wild Beasts among the Javanese.—Of Tigers with Buffaloes.—Of Criminals with Tigers.—The Company appoint Successors to the Princes of JAVA.—Likewise their Prime Ministers.—Tommagongs, or native Regents.—Prices paid for the Rice.—Account of the Depatti of SAMARANG.—Entertainment at the Governor's House.—The River of SAMARANG.—Tides.—Fortifications.—Chinese Temple.—Warehouses and Workshops.—Guardhouse.—Governmenthouse.—Suburbs.—Garrison.—Departure for JAPARA.—View of FISHER's Island—Anchorage at JAPARA.—Account of that Settlement.—The Fort, House of the Resident, &c.—Old JAPARA.—Ancient Javanese Tombs.—Old Moorish Temple.—Character of the present Resident.

THE most favourite diversions of the Javanese emperors, are combats between wild beasts.

When a tiger and a buffalo are to fight together for the amusement of the court, they are both brought upon the field of combat in large cages. The field is surrounded

rounded by a body of Javanese, four deep, with levelled pikes, in order that if the creatures endeavour to break through, they may be killed immediately; this, however, is not so easily effected, but many of these poor wretches are torn in pieces, or dreadfully wounded, by the enraged animals.

When every thing is in readiness, the cage of the buffalo is first opened at the top, and his back is rubbed with certain leaves, which have the singular quality of occasioning an intolerable degree of pain, and which, from the use they are applied to, have been called buffalo leaves* by our people. The door of the cage is then opened, and the animal leaps out, raging with pain, and roaring most dreadfully.

The cage of the tiger is then likewise opened, and fire is thrown into it, to make the beast quit it, which he does generally running backwards out of it.

* By the Javanese they are called *kamadu*. They sting like nettles, but much more violently, and even so as to cause an inflammation in the skin. On every vein they have sharp-pointed prickles, which are transparent, and contain a fluid that occasions the irritation. Dr. THUNBERG says, it is a species of nettle, before unknown, to which he gave the name of *urtica stimulans*. T.

As

As soon as the tiger perceives the buffalo, he springs upon him; his huge opponent stands expecting him, with his horns upon the ground, to catch him upon them, and throw him in the air: if the buffalo succeed in this, and the tiger recovers from his fall, he generally loses every wish of renewing the combat: and if the tiger avoid this first attempt of the buffalo, he springs upon him, and seizing him in the neck, or other parts, tears his flesh from his bones: in most cases, however, the buffalo has the better.

The Javanese who must perform the dangerous office of making these animals quit their cages, may not, when they have done, notwithstanding they are in great danger of being torn in pieces by the enraged beasts, leave the open space, before they have saluted the emperor several times, and his majesty has given them a signal to depart; they then retire slowly, for they are not permitted to walk fast, to the circle, and mix with the other Javanese. .

The emperors sometimes make criminals condemned to death fight with tigers. In such cases, the man is rubbed with *borri*, or turmeric, and has a yellow piece of cloth
put

put round him, a *kris* is then given to him, and he is conducted to the field of combat.

The tiger, who has, for a long time, been kept fasting, falls upon the man with the greatest fury, and generally strikes him down at once, with his paw, but if he be fortunate enough to avoid this, and to wound the animal, so that it quits him, the emperor then commands him to attack the tiger; and the man is then generally the victim: and even if he ultimately succeed in killing his ferocious antagonist, he must suffer death, by the command of the emperor.

An officer in our Company's service, who had long been stationed at the courts of the Javanese emperors, related to me, that he was once witness to a most extraordinary occurrence of this kind, namely, that a Javanese who had been condemned to be torn in pieces by tigers, and, for that purpose, had been thrown down, from the top, into a large cage, in which several tigers were confined, fortunately fell exactly upon the largest and fiercest of them, across whose back he sat astride, without the animal doing him any harm, and even, on the con-
trary,

trary, appearing intimidated ; while the others also, awed by the unusual posture and appearance which he made, dared not attempt to destroy him ; he could not, however, avoid the punishment of death, to which he had been condemned, for the emperor commanded him to be shot dead in the cage.

According to the stipulations of the last treaty, the Company determine which of the sons of either emperor shall succeed his father, who is then nominated heir to the crown ; they equally appoint the *pangorang*, or prince, who has the administration of the empire, and is first *warin*, or prime minister.

The Company's possessions along the coast, are also divided into regencies. A Javanese, of somewhat more than common birth, is appointed regent in each, by the Company, under the denomination of *tom-magong*, to whom the determination of disputes of small moment, among his subordinate Javanese, is left ; they may even inflict corporal punishment, but not death ; crimes which require the last being only
adjudicable

adjudicable by the native council at *Samarang*.

They must likewise take care that the Javanese inhabitants deliver the produce of their land to the Company, or rather to themselves, in order to convey it afterwards to the several residencies, or factories.

A certain contingent, or assessment, of produce, is laid upon each of these regents, which they must be attentive to furnish punctually, or they run a risk of being dismissed.

The Company pay a fixed price for every article. That of the rice is ten rixdollars, or twenty-four gilders, for every *coyang* of 3,400 pounds weight *; but when the harvest fails, they sometimes pay five rixdollars more; or when the wants are very large, as in the year 1773, when the scarcity of this grain at *Batavia*, occasioned by a certain occurrence respecting the first administrator in the grain-magazine, was very great; or when several succeeding harvests have failed, orders are then given to the residents to buy the rice immediately from the natives,

* Equal to about 15. 6d. sterling per *cwt.* T.

and

and the *coyang* then stands them in fifty rixdollars.

Samarang alone has a *depatti*, who is higher in rank than the *tommagongs*, and a prince of the blood, or *pangorang*. He has however, no jurisdiction over the other regents, than alone over those who are within the district of *Samarang* itself. He is likewise the chief of the native council.

I was once in company with this prince, at the house of the governor of *Samarang*, who gave an entertainment that evening, on the occasion of the birthday of his little boy. The *depatti* was placed next to the governor, at his right hand; he appeared to me to be a man of full fifty years of age, rather above the usual stature, thin, and of a brown complexion; he had little beard, a grave deportment, and was very sedate in conversation, without, however, any affectation.

He was dressed in a short brown coat, with silver buttons, and silver-edged button-holes; the sleeves set tight to the arms, below the elbow, as far as the wrists. Under this he wore a chintz *saron*, which reached to the ground. On his feet he had large slippers, square-

square-toed, and turned up. His cap, or headband, was made of white linen, which having been much beat, and prepared with starch made of rice, was as transparent as gauze. He was addressed by the governor by the title of *towang depatti*, and treated with great respect. His *dalm*, or dwelling, stands on the *Pascébaan*, near the house of the governor, whom he is likewise obliged to accompany, when he goes to reside at *Boeyang*, about half a league farther, where he has also a mansion close to that of the governor.

On the occasion of this festivel, two of the elders of the church at *Samarang*, the fiscal, and the lieutenant of the artillery, danced a reel, for the diversion of the company.

I only notice this circumstance to shew that, in these parts, no such rigid discipline prevails, with respect to the conduct of elders of the church, and no such scandal is occasioned by their dancing in public, as at *Groningen* *, although the parson was himself one of the spectators, and highly applauded

* Mr. STAVORINUS here alludes to the austere and puritanical spirit which prevails among the calvinists in the United Provinces, and proverbially so at *Groningen*, the chief town of the remotest of the seven. T.

the agility of their dancers, saying with SOLOMON, that there was “ a time to weep, and “ a time to laugh ; a time to mourn, and a “ time to dance.”

The town of *Samarang* lies on the east side of the river of the same name, which takes its rise about three Dutch miles inland, and falls into the sea, about two hundred roods below the place ; at its mouth, it is not more than three hundred and thirty, or forty, feet broad. A bridge is thrown over it, leading from the town to the usual residence of the governor, which is called the *Vryberd* (freedom), and is a large and handsome building. The Chinese and Javanese campons, or suburbs, are on the same side of the river.

This river, like all others in *Java*, has a bank lying before its mouth, which is, in some places, composed of soft mud, and in others, of hard sand. At low water there is scarcely more than one foot water upon it.

Here, as well as all along the coast of *Java*, the tide rises but once in four-and-twenty hours. In the bad monsoon (*kwaade mousson*), or when the west winds blow, it is high-water in the day-time, and low-water

water at night, and during the good, or east, monsoon, the contrary takes place. When it is low-water without the banks, the rivers are at the highest; and the moon seems to have no influence at all here upon the tides.

The fortifications of *Samarang* are in the same state as all those of the Company which I had opportunities of seeing, to wit, most deplorably bad. The walls which surround it, and connect the projections, which can scarcely be called angles, are low and ruinous.

The most remarkable object which I saw at this place, was a temple of the Chinese, which is a middling-large building, with two courts before it; it is decorated within with the gigantic images of their gods, which are strongly gilt, and make a splendid appearance.

Samarang has a small, but neat, church; near it is an elegant tomb of Mr. TOURLEMOND, formerly head administrator and second in command here.

The warehouses and workshops stand in a row, all under one roof, projecting out, and covering a piazza before them, full
three

three hundred feet in length. They are to the southwest of the town, by the river-side.

The guardhouse, which has been lately erected, has, besides the place for the privates, two large apartments for the accommodation of the officers, who are upon duty.

The government-house, which was formerly the residence of the governor, and where the several offices are actually held, is near the river, and faces it. There are three campons, or suburbs, the Chinese, the Javanese, and the Bouginese, of which the two first are to the westward, and the last to the eastward, of the river.

When the garrison of *Samarang* is complete, it amounts to one hundred and fifty men, besides an independent company of dragoons, which are under the command of a captain lieutenant; all the other military of the place are subject to the orders of the captain commandant of *Samarang*.

On the 16th of December, after having taken on board one hundred *coyangs* of rice, for account of the Company, and fifty for myself, I received my dispatches
from

from Mr. VAN DER BURG, with orders to sail for *Japara*. Going on board in the evening, I immediately weighed anchor, and set sail with a slack landwind, steering off shore, in order not to be embayed in the bight of *Japara*, by the westerly wind ; and that, if it veered to the N.W. so as to render it dangerous to touch at *Japara*, I might have offing enough to stretch out to sea, withoutside of the island *Mandelique*.

The next morning we could not discern the land, by reason of the haziness of the weather ; but at noon we got sight of *Visschers*, or *Fisher's*, Island, bearing S.E. three and a half leagues off. This is a small and low island, about two leagues and a half S.W. from *Japara*, and particularly distinguishable by two or three high trees, which grow upon it.

The wind blowing mostly from the N.E. during this day, we could not reach *Japara*, though we already perceived the flag flying at that settlement. At nine o'clock, P.M. we came to an anchor, in eighteen fathoms water, to avoid being misled, during the night, by the currents.

On

On the 18th, at three o'clock, A.M. we again got under weigh, and at sunrise we were still about three leagues distant from the road of *Japara*. At ten o'clock we cast anchor, close to the east side of the island *De Nis*; though in the good, or east, monsoon, the anchoring-place is somewhat more to the eastward, and close to the opposite shore.

One may pass both to the north and to the south of this island, but the passage to the south is more dangerous, on account of the narrowness of the channel.

Behind this, and a little to the s.e. lies another island, which is surrounded by very dangerous shoals, and contracts the extent of the road of *Japara*.

From the island *De Nis*, the water shoals gradually, first, from five to two and a half fathoms, and when, in this last depth, you are abreast of the foul island, it then lessens, by degrees, to six feet, when you are close to a high rock, called the *Walvisch*, or *Whale*, whence it shoals more and more, with some sunken rocks, to the mouth of the little river of *Japara*, where there is

two

two feet water, and less, and which is about 140, or 150, feet over. The source of this stream lies no more than a short league up the country.

On entering the rivulet, on the north side, lies a little gentle eminence, about fifty feet high, on the western part of which stands a small triangular fort, one bastion whereof points to the sea, and the other two to the land; in the middle of the curtain which connects these two last is the gate: this fort is mounted with several pieces of cannon of different calibers; it is built of stone, and is kept in good repair: the garrison consists of one serjeant, two corporals, and sixteen privates. The rest of the eminence is used for a burying-ground, in which the ensign-staff is erected.

On the south side of the rivulet, are some Javanese hetises and huts, and about sixty roods from its mouth, it is crossed by a bridge.

On the north side is the house of the resident, opposite to a large plain, planted with shady trees, and railed round. It has several handsome apartments, furnished neatly
and

and elegantly, in the European style. On the left hand of it is a pleasant bower, or pavilion, of one hundred feet in length, eighteen in breadth, and ten in height, so closely interwoven with flowering shrubs, that it is impervious to light showers of rain. At the end is a grotto; and when, on an evening, the whole is illuminated, it forms a very charming *coup d'œil*. The last evening of my stay at *Japara*, we supped in the pavilion, which was lighted up.

About a mile and a half above the settlement, the stream turns a sawmill, which saws the yearly quantity of four or five thousand large logs of timber, into planks, which are called millplanks. The water is carried to the mill through a brick channel, and a dam is made across the rivulet to prevent it from running off, till there is sufficient to turn the mill.

One Dutch mile inland, lies the ancient Javanese city of *Japara*, called Old *Japara*, which was formerly the residence of the sovereigns of an empire of that name. The tomb of one of them is still in existence; it contains the body of the emperor, that
of

of his most beloved wife on the right hand, and of two other of his wives on the left, together with several of his children. The shape of these graves is oblong: the approach to them is through a sort of portico, enclosed by a railing, in a large covered apartment. Over the graves of the emperor and his most beloved wife, a large piece of linen is still continually expanded, which covers them both; and they are strewed every Friday with fresh flowers.

Not far from this is an old and ruinous Moorish temple, of stone, with such beautiful sculpture of imagery and foliage, that the art and ingenuity of the Javanese of those times excites our admiration. This temple is at least three hundred years old.

At the seaside, about two miles from *Japara*, the resident has a wooden summer-house, in a pleasant grove of cocoa-nut-trees, whence there is a very fine prospect out to sea, and of the neighbouring islands. We here caught a flying squirrel.

The actual resident at *Japara* is Mr. WILLIAM VAN DER BEKE, a native of *Sluice* in *Flanders*, aged upwards of forty years: he is a man whose life is devoted to
the

the service of his fellow-mortals, blessed with a liberal and compassionate mind, and ever ready to oblige wherever it is in his power. This gentleman has been the chief at *Japara* ever since the year 1765.

I had to ship seven hundred and fifty mill-planks at this place; and having taken these on board, I took my leave of the worthy resident, with much regret, on the 21st of December, 1774.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from JAPARA.—The Island MANDELIQUE.—Anchorage before JOANA.—Account of that Settlement.—The River.—Inland Navigation to SAMARANG.—The Town.—Chinese Camp.—Fort.—House of the Resident.—Character, &c. of the present Resident.—His Emoluments.—Celebration of the New Year.—Account of the Tommogongs, or native Regents.—Of the Pattis, or Sub-regents.—Entertainment at the House of one of the Tommogongs.—Departure from JOANA.—The Island LUBOK.—View of the Hill of RADIONA.—Of the Island MADURA.—Of Islands supposed to be the little PULO LAUTS.—Great Inaccuracy of the Company's Charts.—View of the NOUSSA LINAS.—Of the Island ROTTERDAM.—Of the HEN AND CHICKENS.—Of the SALINAS.—The Bank called the BOOT.—View of the TONINS Islands.—Of the Three Brothers.—Of TANAKEKE.—Of GALISSING.—Anchorage in the Road of MACASSER.

EARLY on the morning of the 22d of December, 1774, we weighed anchor, and put to sea, in order to proceed to *Joana*,
where

where I was to take in the remainder of the cargo.

The next day, at sunrise, we found ourselves abreast of the island *Mandelique*, often called the *Duivel/klip*, or *Devil's Rock*, because, in the east monsoon, ships are detained here a long time by contrary winds and currents, before they can weather it.

This island is small, but of a middling height, so as to be seen at the distance of five or six leagues. It lies about half a league from the coast of *Java*; between which and the island there is a passage, in three and a half, or four, fathoms water, but it is too narrow to be safe, and ships therefore very seldom pass through it. At this place, we buried the third man who we had lost since our leaving *Batavia*.

Having passed the island *Mandelique*, we sailed round the reef which stretches out more than a league and a half from the point of *Fayo* (between which and Point *Lesser*, lies the bight of *Rembang* and *Joana*), towards the road of *Joana*, but not being able to get sight of the ensign-staff of that settlement, we anchored, at sunset, in the outer road.

The

The ensuing day, the 24th of December, failing farther in, we dropped our anchor in three and a half fathoms water, the bottom being soft mud.

Having seen all safe on board, I went with the Company's papers to the residency, where I arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon

The river of *Joana* flows out of a large inland lake, into which several small streams discharge themselves. It is called the inland sea, and disembogues its superfluous water mostly through this river, which, after running a considerable way, with many sinuosities, falls into the sea about four leagues to the westward of *Rembang*.

It is one of the largest and most navigable rivers along the whole north coast of *Java*, being at the mouth, and a great way up, beyond the residency, twenty and more feet deep. Its breadth is about two hundred feet.

In the bad monsoon, the afflux is much more violent than in the good monsoon. The water, as is the case with all rapid streams, is turbid; but when it has stood
still

still some time in pots, or casks, it becomes very clear and pleasant.

Sailing up this river with the boats called *permayangs*, into the inland sea, there is a passage along several other rivers, to *Samarang*, and thence farther up the country. This navigation may be performed in two or three days; and it is especially availed of, in the bad monsoon, when the voyage by sea, round the island *Mandelique*, requires too long a time, and is much too dangerous for small craft.

A broad mudbank, upon which there is sometimes less than a foot water, lies before the mouth of the river of *Joana*. From its mouth to the residency, which stands full a league up, on the west side, it runs between low and swampy grounds, which are uncultivated, and produce nothing but brushwood: they are sometimes inundated when the river suddenly rises, after heavy rains.

The town of *Joana* commences just above the residency. It consists of two rows of houses built along the river, about a quarter of a Dutch mile in length. At the farther

ther end lies the *Pascébaan*, and not far from it is the dwelling of the *tommagong*.

On the opposite side, upon an island, formed by the river, of about half a Dutch mile in circumference, stands the Chinese campon.

The odge, or fort, of *Joana*, is a redoubt, with four demi-bastions, in which are the rice-warehouses, the barracks for the soldiery, and some buildings which serve for a kitchen and other offices for the resident. The house of the resident stood formerly within the fort, but it has been pulled down, and a new one has been built of freestone, without it, on the east side, which is kept in excellent repair.

This mansion was constructed according to the plan and drawing of the engineer HAAK: throughout India I have not seen any building that equalled it in grandeur and boldness of architecture. It consists of two pieces, opposite to each other, which are connected by a lofty dome of full twenty-five feet diameter, supported by four columns of the Tuscan order. Both these pieces are, however, but of one story; they are sixty feet long, and twenty-five broad, within

within the walls. One of them forms a single hall of the same dimensions. The other is divided into three apartments; the middle one, which is twenty-five feet in depth, and about sixteen in breadth, is opposite to the door of the great hall, and to the great dome: it is fitted up as a chapel; the entrance to it is through a handsome arch, or portico: on each side of it is a large chamber, of the same size, making, together with the chapel, the length of the whole building on this side, and the same as that of the great hall. The walls of all these apartments are beautifully stuccoed, adorned with sumptuous gilt cornices, and the roofs are concave, being wainscoted, and curiously adorned with carved imagery.

Behind this pile, stands a building, constructed entirely of wood, provided with three handsome rooms, and above these is one large apartment for the unmarried female slaves, and which might therefore be called the *seraglio*. From this edifice, there is a most delightful view backwards, over the *paddee*, or rice, fields, interspersed with small groves, and terminated by the distant and lofty mountains of *Japara*.

In

In the front of all stands a handsome saloon, built close to the riverside, and equally erected at the expence of the present resident. It is of an oblong octagon shape, and is stuccoed on the sides and roof, but the cornishes are not gilt. A large balcony projects from it towards the river, the only inconvenience of which consists in the swarms of mosquitos which infest it every evening.

The actual resident is Mr. PHILIP WILLIAM NEUWITH, a native of *Friesland*, twenty-eight years of age, a most polite and friendly man. He served as lieutenant in the navy, under the admiralty of *Amsterdam*, and obtained his discharge from that service, with the rank of captain. A few months after he first came here as chief, he had the misfortune, that the lodge, or fort, was surprized early in the morning, by a gang of banditti, on which occasion several Europeans lost their lives, and some warehouses were burnt down ; on the same day, however, he succeeded in expelling them from the fort, by the assistance of some faithful Javanese, Chinese, and Mandharese, who were lying here with their vessels ;

vessels; and the freebooters fled on all sides, leaving behind them several dead, and several were taken prisoners, who were immediately, and summarily, put to death, without any form of trial.

The emoluments of this residency amount annually to sixteen thousand rixdollars *, and more. They proceed from the surplus-weight of the rice, delivered by the native regents to the Company, and from the cheap rate at which this article is purchased, not to mention what he himself buys up, and disposes of to individuals, for at least, fifty per cent profit; likewise from the collection of the timber yearly furnished to the Company, at a fixed price, and which costs him no more than the labourage, which is very cheap here, as he has only to send two or three hundred Javanese into the woods, to fell the trees, and hew them into logs.

The construction of ships, likewise, affords considerable gain to the present resident; for both timber and labour cost him little; for a Javanese master-shipwright earns no

* About 3,500*l.* sterling. 7.

more than about six *dubbeltjes*, or two-penny-pieces, a day, his assistants, four, and the common labourers, two.

He lately built a snow of one hundred and one feet in length, according to the model of the states' armed snow, the *Zephyr*, of *Rotterdam*, which was fitted up in as handsome a manner as I ever saw such a vessel. He offered it for sale at twenty thousand rixdollars, and afterwards took eighteen thousand.

There are also profits attached to the *Bhandaary*, or farm of the duties, which accrue, nominally, to the Chinese, but, in reality, to the resident.

A few days before the new year, every Javanese, who had the least connection, either with the Company, or with the resident, came to make presents to him, consisting chiefly of poultry, eggs, sugar, fruit, &c. Those who were of a higher order, such as the Chinese captain, brought rolls of satin.

On the first of January, 1775, a salute of one and twenty guns, was fired, at sunrise, from some small pieces of cannon, planted before the saloon. On this occasion,

casion, an European, a strong and corpulent man, who acted as gunner, met with a terrible accident. Passing before the muzzle of one of the guns, the priming of which had flashed, without discharging the piece, it went off the instant he was before it, and blew him upwards of six feet forwards; the loading had fortunately been rammed down without a wad, so that he was no otherwise hurt, than by being dreadfully burnt, on his side, arm, and belly, so that he was not cured when I left the place.

Two hours afterwards, came three Javanese regents, or *tommagongs*, belonging to the district of this factory, to congratulate the resident, on the new year, in the following manner: *Sallamat taon baro Touwang alli cassi ou mour panjang*; that is, “much joy with the new year, God grant you a long life.”

The first of these regents, who was *tommagong* over part of the province of *Patti*, appeared to me to be a man of full fifty years old. He had grey hairs, and a little beard. Mr. NEUWITH told me, that he was esteemed one of the most intelligent
of

of the Javanese. He was even thought so much of, that the SOESOEHONAM wanted much to have made him administrator of his empire, but he declined the dignity, preferring to be a common regent in the Company's possessions, than a powerful statesman under an arbitrary monarch ; for the ministers of those princes are not only liable to incur a speedy disgrace, and to be dismissed from their offices, but they are often degraded to the rank of *battari*, which is little different from the condition of a slave, obliged to perform the most menial, and most toilsome, offices ; while it is very seldom that the Company come to such extremities.

His dress consisted of a short coat, or jacket, of deep red velvet, which came a little below the hips, and was fastened with little silver buttons, round the body, under the arms, and round the wrists. The lower part of this jacket, below the buttons, was stiffened out all round. Under it he wore a *saron*, in the country-fashion, round his body, which hung down to his heels, and was made of Javanese painted cloth. His kris was in a sheath of gold, beautifully worked,

worked, and the handle was made of *cajou pelli*, which is reckoned the most costly wood produced in the Indies; it is very scarce, of a greyish colour, with thin black veins running through it, and of a very hard, close, and fine texture. His cap was of purple velvet, bordered with narrow silver lace. Like most Javanese of distinction, he spoke little, and with a becoming gravity.

The next regent was the uncle of the present SOESOEHOENAM, and equally regent of the province of *Patti*. The simplicity of this man was as remarkable as the intelligence of the former; and the resident was always able to do whatever he pleased in the province of *Patti*, as the latter was very easily persuaded to every thing.

The third regent was the *tommagong* of *Joana*, a large, comely man, whose good-nature was pictured in his open and friendly countenance: in understanding, however, he was also not to be compared to the first.

There was likewise another, who was regent of *Caylam*, as well as a native of the place. The other Javanese would not acknowledge

knowledge him, or any of the Caylammers, to be of their own race, or true Javanese, saying that they were produced from the unnatural connection of a woman with a dog. Indeed, the whole time that they were together, I did not perceive that one of the other regents condescended to address a single word to him.

Each regent had his *patti*, or sub-regent, with him; but while the former sat upon a chair, the latter was obliged to sit upon the floor, upon his heels, and when called by his superior, to creep along the ground to him, and sit down at his feet, waiting till he was pleased to speak, or to issue his commands.

At seven o'clock in the evening, these regents came, with a number of servants, with musical instruments, &c. to supper to the resident's house. Before supper we had music and dancing in the European style; but after it, several Javanese dancing girls were sent for, with whom each of the regents, and after them their *pattis*, danced, or, as they term it, *tandacked*, in their fashion, to the sound of their own musical instruments,

instruments, gongoms, boudas, and a kind of violins, which continued till late at night, when they all left us for their own houses.

On the 3d of January, I went, with the resident, to pay a visit to the *tommagong* of *Jana*. He received us dressed in state, and during the playing of gongoms, and other instruments. His favourite wife, and the wife of his son, together with his mother, likewise came and drank tea with us. A large silver plate with confectionary stood upon a table near us, and each took what he liked of it.

On the 14th of the same month, we were invited to supper by the same regent, who gave an entertainment on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, which had been solemnized some time before. The resident had caused, at his desire, the provisions to be dressed by his own people, in the European manner, so that there was little or no Javanese victuals to be seen. After supper, some dancing girls were again introduced, with whom the *tommagong* and his sons *tandacked*. Their wives were not present at this; and when, a short time before

fore the company broke up, they came in, care had been taken that the dancing girls were gone before they entered the room.

During my stay at *Joana*, we had very unfavourable, windy, and rainy weather, by which the loading of my ship was delayed, and I was deprived of the pleasure of taking a journey inland, to the inner sea, or to the province of *Patti*, which the *tommagong* strongly urged me to do, so that I did not go farther than about a Dutch mile and a half up the country, to one of the country-seats, or gardens, of the resident, who has four of them.

At last the ship received the complement of her cargo, having taken in, both from this place and from *Rembang*, one hundred and fifty coyangs of rice, besides a quantity of logs and planks.

On the 21st of January I went on board, with the Company's papers, but it was not till the 24th that I could leave the road, being obliged to wait till then for thirty leaguers of water, which could not be shipped before, on account of the stormy weather.

On the 24th, at eleven o'clock, P.M. we weighed anchor, and left the road of *Joana*,
experiencing

experiencing much difficulty in getting the ship afloat, as she lay, at least, two feet sunk in the mud.

The next day in the morning, at sunrise, we were abreast of the point of *Lessum*, whence we steered direct east, in order to run in sight of the island *Lubok*, commonly called the *Baviaan*, or *Baboon*, but we did not see it, as we passed it in the following night.

This island is not large, but, as I was informed, extremely populous. Seventy or eighty vessels go continually to and fro, between it and the coasts of *Java* and *Borneo*. As far as I know, the inhabitants have no connection with, and are independent of, the Company.

On the 26th of January, at sunrise, we saw the hill of *Radiona*, which is a high mountain, situated far inland, in the island of *Java*; as likewise part of the island of *Madura*, whence we took our last observation of the land, steering for the island *Solombo*.

Along the coasts of *Java*, from *Joana*, as far as the point of *Griffe* (where the land turns first to the south, to *Sourabaya*, and then,

then, behind the island *Madura*, in an easterly direction, to the Straits of *Bali*, through which it stretches to the south again, as far as the southern Indian ocean), there is no danger to be avoided. One may sail without apprehension along the shore, at the distance of one or two leagues from the land, only taking care to steer clear of the projecting points.

Many high mountains lie inland; the foreland is, on the contrary, low, but may be seen at the distance of three and a half, or four, leagues.

I saw the land of *Madura* eight or nine leagues off; but the eastern part of it, it is said, is visible at fifteen, and more, leagues' distance.

We sailed till the 28th of January, east and north, without seeing any land. In the morning of that day, at sunrise, we discovered two islands, from the masthead, bearing N.N.W. which we conceived were the little *Pulo Lauts*, or *Water-Islands*. We at first thought, that they were the *Noussa Linas*. But whichever they were, this is certain, that neither the one, nor the other,
are

are placed in their true situations, in the Company's charts.

Much stress is laid, among the Company's servants, upon the great danger of the navigation to the eastward of *Batavia*, which may possibly be encouraged underhand, for political reasons, by persons in power ; but I did not, in fact, find it so bad, at least as far as *Celebes*, or *Macassar*, as is pretended. It would be well if the charts of these parts, which the Company give to their vessels, were correct ; it is this that makes the navigation so dangerous. None of the islands which I met with, except the group called the *Hen and Chickens*, are laid down in their true latitudes, as may be proved by my log-book, and those of other ships. This inaccuracy not only renders these charts useless, but likewise extremely dangerous ; for instead of being, as they ought, the surest guide and dependence of the navigator, they mislead him, and become his bane. It is not impossible, but this may be purposely left so, and that it is an adopted opinion, that it is better to expose a few ships to the danger of shipwreck, than to correct errors,

errors, which might operate to render the navigation towards the Spice Islands difficult and hazardous for other nations; for it cannot be pretended, that this notorious faultiness is unknown to the Company, since the commander of every vessel, on his return to *Batavia*, must deliver a journal of his voyage to a master-mapmaker, or hydrographer, specially appointed for that purpose; and no one, who, in any degree, deserves the name of seaman, can pass over such gross mistakes, without noting them down in his logbook: for my own part, at least, I have seen, and had in my possession, for a long time, several logbooks, in which the same errors, which I have just noticed, have been equally mentioned.

The government at *Batavia*, moreover, strictly enjoin the commanders of all vessels, not only duly to note all such matters in their logbooks, but likewise to give a particular account thereof to the governor general, or to the chief of the settlement where they arrive, agreeably to the resolution, to that purpose, taken on the 10th of December, 1771; and yet the charts have never
been

been altered, since that period, no more than before.

The next day, the 29th of January, at four o'clock, P.M. we saw, from the top, an island, bearing N.E. which, from its latitude, we supposed was that called *Rotterdam*.

This morning, one of our best sailors, being upon the foretopfail-yard, looking out for the land, was seized with the epilepsy, and fell down, first upon the railings of the ship's head, and afterwards overboard; he sunk instantaneously, without there being any possibility of saving him.

The above island was still visible from the masthead the following morning, as we had made but little progress during the night.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we came in sight of another island, past which we sailed at the distance of three leagues and a half, and recognised it, without any doubt, for that of *Rotterdam*; so that the islands of the preceding evening must have been the *Nouveau Linas*, although there was a difference of four or five leagues in the latitude.

On the 31st, at sunrise, we got sight of four or five small islands, called the *Hen and Chickens*,

Chickens, and could just see the island *Rotterdam* from the masthead, bearing N.N.W. We hence steered our course, in order to run in sight of the islands the *Salinas*.

From these islands, a large bank stretches out, to the southward, full five leagues, upon which there is a very uneven, rocky bottom, with a depth, in some places, of six, and, in others, of twelve, twenty, and more, fathoms. This is called the *Laars*, or *Boot*, and all the ships, which sail to the eastward, run over it, in order to avoid taking the large circuit, which they would have to do, if they sailed round its southern extremity.

At four o'clock, P.M. we came in sight of those islands, bearing due east from us, which differed, at least, two points, from their situation as laid down in the charts. We immediately steered S.E. in order to keep at a good distance from them, and not to pass the *Boot* in too shoal water; at the beginning of the first watch we steered E.S.E. and at midnight, conceiving that we had passed them, due east: we continually sounded with a line of forty and fifty fathoms, but found no bottom, so that we had passed to the south of the bank.

The

The next day, being the 1st of February, we discovered, a little before sunrise, the *Tonins*, or *Tunny* Islands, which are three in number, but which we now saw in one, bearing N. by W. as likewise the islands the *Salinas*, bearing N.W. by W. We then steered E.N.E. for the islands the *Three Brothers*, which, together with the island *Tanakeke*, we got sight of at eleven o'clock, A.M. the latter bearing east, and the former E.N.E.

Keeping this course, we steered for the northernmost of the *Three Brothers*; shortly afterwards we saw the high land of *Celebes*, and found, at noon, by a good observation of the sun's altitude, that all these parts lie twenty minutes, or five leagues, more to the southward, than they are laid down in the charts.

At half past one o'clock, P.M. we struck foundings in fifteen fathoms, upon the bank of *Tanakeke*, across which we passed in fourteen fathoms, steering between the northernmost and middlemost of the *Three Brothers*, but ran within a cable's length of the first, in order to avoid the reef that stretches out into the middle of the channel, from the other. We afterwards steered for the island
Galising,

Galiffing, and, at sunset, we anchored at the distance of a league from it.

On the 2d of February, we weighed anchor, and got under sail, in order to work up to the eastward, for the road of *Macaffer*, but were prevented from making much progress by the light winds and contrary currents.

At four o'clock, P.M. the intendant of equipment, XINSEN, came on board, with an order from the government at *Macaffer*, to pilot the ship in ; but half an hour after sunset, we again came to an anchor, not having advanced more than half a league during this whole day.

The following day, we continued to ply as before, without being able to reach the road, though we advanced a little. On the 4th of February, however, we were enabled to anchor in the outer road, though not without danger, as the intendant of equipment, who acted here as pilot, had the imprudence, notwithstanding it was already dark, to attempt carrying the ship into the inner road, and thereby run her aground upon the rocky shoal, that extends about an eighth of a league from the south end of the island

island *Ly Ly*, although I repeatedly admonished him of the danger ; but after having been aground for more than half an hour, I had the satisfaction of bringing her off again.

On the 5th, at daybreak, we again went to work, and succeeded this time, so that, at noon, we let drop our anchor before Fort *Rotterdam*, which we saluted with thirteen guns, and were answered with five.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of MACASSER.—The Road.—Instructions for sailing into it.—The Environs.—Seasons.—Produce.—Manufactures.—Slave-trade.—Account of the Bouginese and Macassers.—Their Character.—Arms.—Dress.—Food.—Bouginese Women.—Religion.—Burials.—Great Trade.—Fort ROTTERDAM.—Church.—Village of VLAARDINGEN.—Campons.—Burying-ground.—Excellent Character of the Clergyman.—Importance of CELEBES to the Company.—Their first Establishment here.

THE road of *Macasser* is, in the good, or southeast, monsoon, one of the finest which I have seen in India, and is very secure.

The islands *Great Ly Ly* and *Little Ly Ly*, with their reefs, defend it from south-west to north; and I conceive that there is a safe anchorage, close under *Great Ly Ly*, in the bad monsoon, and when the north-west winds blow violently.

The entrance of the road is between the abovementioned island of *Ly Ly*, and a sunken rock, which lies full a quarter of a league

league south from the point of the reef of *Ly Ly*, close to which you must keep, because in a still sea, there is no appearance of the rock ; but when there is any swell, the sea may be seen breaking upon it from a distance, as soon as you have passed the *Three Brothers*. In sailing up, you must keep between the middlemost and northernmost of these, and closer to the latter than to the former, because there is a reef which stretches out from the middlemost, and you must then steer E.N.E. and N.E. by E. for the island *Galiffing*, as beforementioned, over unequal depths of seventeen to eleven, sixteen, nineteen, and twenty-two, fathoms, grey sand, with small shells.

The little island of *Galiffing* lies a quarter of a league from the shore, to which it is united by a reef, which likewise stretches on each side a short quarter of a league from it : it is soon discovered to be an island. As soon as you are abreast of it, *Great Hertebeeßen*, or *Stag Island*, appears in the north ; you then steer, with the wind large, N.N.E. you then see more small islands to the northward, namely, the southernmost and northernmost of the *Barrings*, *Little Hertebeeßen*, or *Stag Island*,

Island, *Duivels*, or *Devil's Island*, and afterwards the island *Ly Ly*, for which, as said before, you then steer ; and, lastly, for the anchoring-place.

The depths along this navigation are unequal, but they are confined between ten and twenty-two fathoms ; the bottom is sand, and sandy clay. The currents, which must be carefully attended to, when it is necessary to work up for the road, set to the N.E. and S.W. Care must likewise be taken in working up, not to ply too much to the westward, as there are sunken rocks, upon which there are no more than sixteen or eighteen feet water : yet there is no danger, if the *Great Hertebeeften*, or *Stag Island*, be not brought to bear more easterly than N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. You must ply to westward with the landwinds, and anchor till the seawinds blow, when you must bear up for the shore, taking likewise advantage of the currents.

When you have passed the island *Galiffing*, you may run pretty close in with the shore, till you get near the place called *het Witte Graf*, or the *White Tomb*, then look out for the rock which forms the southern side of the entrance to the road ; if you see no surf
breaking

breaking upon it, steer a little more off shore, till the island *Great Ly Ly* bears N.N.E. or N.E. by N. and you will then avoid the danger of falling upon it. The south latitude is about $5^{\circ} 40'$.

After the ship was moored, I went on shore, at five o'clock, P.M. with the Company's papers, and waited first upon the governor, Mr. PAUL GODFREY VAN DER VOORT, and afterwards upon Mr. BERNARD VAN PLEUREN, late second in command of this government, but now the governor elect of *Amboyna*; for the purpose of conveying whom to his government my ship had called at *Macassar*. I requested of both these gentlemen that all possible expedition might be used in the dispatch of my vessel, as there was great reason to fear, that the east monsoon would soon set in, which would be the occasion of a very long voyage; and they both promised me, that I should be dispatched with all speed.

The environs of this place are very pleasant; it lies in an extensive plain, which reaches to the foot of a high range of mountains, situated seven or eight Dutch miles to the eastward, and which divides this part of
Celebes,

Celebes, lying to the westward of the bay of *Boni*, and south of the gulph of *Tomini*, into two parts. This range is called the mountains of *Bontain*, because the southern part of it terminates in the district of that name.

This plain is covered, as far as the eye can reach, with rice-fields, and pasture-grounds, which are interspersed, here and there, with small groves of fruitbearing or shady trees, and watered by drains made out of the larger rivers which descend from the mountains.

The seasons, known here, as throughout the east, by the denomination of monsoons, are the same as at *Java*; the southeast monsoon being called the good, and the northwest the bad one. The first brings always (at least, in the country west of the above range of mountains) a clear sky, and dry weather; the last is accompanied with violent winds, and continual heavy rain: but to the eastward of the ridge, the exact contrary takes place; for, while the east monsoon brings on fair weather to the eastward, nothing but gusts of wind and showers of rain are to be met with to the westward; so that the different seasons of summer and
winter

winter are felt, at the same time, at no more than eight Dutch miles distance from each other.

The chief production of the island *Celebes* is rice, of which it yields more than a sufficiency to maintain its own inhabitants, though they are very numerous; but it is not so good as the Java rice. Much cotton is likewise produced, of which the inhabitants make women's dresses, which are held to be the finest of all India *.

* These garments are called *cambays*; they are red chequered, mixed with blue, but dull coloured; they reach from head to foot, and are often sold from six to ten Spanish dollars a-piece. The Bouginese often import cotton from the island *Bali*, both raw and spun into yarn: at *Bali* they do not understand packing cotton, but stuff it in baskets. The Bouginese likewise manufacture beautiful silk belts, in which they fix their knives; also a kind of paper, from the inner bark of a small tree, in which they wrap their fine cambays; they often dye this paper of various colours, and export much of it to *Manilla*, and many other places; it resembles the Otaheite cloth. They make fire arms, but cannot make gunlocks; they also cast small brass guns, which they call *rantakka*; the larger *rantakka* is about six feet long, and carries a half-pound ball. They are curious in filagree work, both in gold and silver. Captain FORREST was informed, that they sailed in their paduakans, or prows, to the northern parts of *New Holland*, probably *Carpentaria*-Bay, to gather sea-swallow (*biche de mer*), which they sell to the annual Chinese junk at *Macaffer*: they said also that gold was to be got there. T.

Gold

Gold is likewise found in the kingdom of *Loehoe*, and in the eastern parts of the island, which is partly collected for the Company at *Gorontalo*.

The slavetrade is also much prosecuted here, most of the eastern settlements, *Batavia*, and *Java*, being provided with slaves from *Celebes*. They are, in general, kidnapped, and sold in secret to the Europeans, who carry them away in their ships *.

Of the various nations who inhabit *Celebes*, the Bonians, or Bouginese †, and the Macassers, are the most known; the latter are the most considerable of those who have been forced by the arms of the Company to enter into alliance with them; their lands likewise lie near those of the Company, and they are, therefore, better known in history, than the more distant kingdoms and nations.

The Bouginese, at present the most powerful nation in *Celebes*, though a century ago

* About one hundred slaves are annually purchased at *Macasser* by the Dutch Company, for their own service, and conveyed to *Batavia*; the whole remainder of this iniquitous traffic is in the hands of private individuals and free inhabitants of those two places. T.

† Called, in general, *Buggeffer* by the English. T.

they

they came in no comparison with the Macassers, who were then the most celebrated and potent nation of the island, are of a middle stature, strong, and muscular, and of a lightbrown complexion; there are some of them who are even nearly as fair as Europeans, especially among the women, who have pleasing countenances, except that their noses are rather flattish.

The Macassers, on the other hand, are not so handsome, but have a more manly and more martial appearance; they possess likewise more courage, and are greater enemies of treachery, while the Bouginese will never attack their adversaries openly, but always endeavour to destroy them by treachery: they will even take away the lives of such as have never offended them, if they can do it without being discovered, be it only, as they slightly say, to try whether their krisses are good; to which diabolical temper the Europeans at *Macasser* often become the victims, as even happened during my very short stay there.

Their krisses and assagays are, in general, poisoned, as are likewise the little darts
which

which they blow through their *sampits*, or wooden tubes.

Their dress consists in a piece of cotton cloth, red or blue, wound round the body, and drawn tight between the legs. The upper part of the body is naked. Upon the head they wear a piece of cotton, like an handkerchief, with which they cover their hair, which is very long, and quite black. Neither men, nor women, suffer any hair to grow upon any other parts of the body; but, as is customary with all the Mahomedans in India, they pluck it out, by the roots, as soon as it appears.

Their food is rice, fish, and pisang, and their drink water, though they have likewise *sagwire*, or palmwine.

The Bouginese women are, in general, much handsomer than those of any other Indian nation. There are some among them, who, for the contour of their faces, would be esteemed beauties even in Europe; and did they but possess the lilies and roses of our northern fair, they would be equal to the handsomest of the sex. They are all most ardently addicted to the sensual pleasures of love; and, goaded on by the hottest fires
of

of lust, are ingenious in every refinement of amorous enjoyment ; on this account, the Bouginese girls are preferred throughout the east, for concubines, both by Europeans and by Indians. Mr. VAN PLEUREN, who had resided here for eight years, and several other credible people, informed me, that among these women, and those of *Macassar*, were many who, in common with some of the Portuguese women at *Batavia*, possessed the secret of being able, by certain herbs and other means, to disqualify their inconstant lovers from repeating the affront to them, insomuch, that the offending part shrunk entirely away ; with other circumstances, which decency requires that I should suppress.

The religion universally received here, is that of Mahomet, which allows the men four legal wives, if they can maintain them ; but if they do not like each other, they separate with as much ease as they before became united.

Their burials are performed without much ceremony : the body is wrapped in a piece of white linen, and laid in the grave, upon which some sweetscented flowers are strewn,

strewn, and two stones erected, one at the head, and the other at the feet.

This is the whole of what the shortness of my stay allowed me to collect respecting the characters and customs of these people, so renowned throughout the east *.

Fort

* “ The Macassers and Bugguefs people, who come annually to trade at *Sumatra*, are looked upon by the inhabitants as their superiors in manners; the Malays affect to copy their style of dress, and frequent allusions to their feats and achievements are made in their songs. Their reputation for courage, which certainly surpasses that of all others in the eastern seas, acquires them this flattering distinction; they also derive part of the respect shewed them, from the richness of the cargoes they import, and the spirit with which they spend the produce.” MARS DEN’S *Sumatra*, page 174.

The Bugguefs are a high-spirited people, and deserve the character given of Malays in general by M. POIVRE, in his *Travels of a Philosopher*: “ fond of adventures, emigration, and capable of undertaking the most dangerous enterprises.” The word Bugguefs has become, amongst Europeans in the east of India, an expression meaning the same as soldier, just as sepoy is in the west. The people of *Celebes* are very industrious; they are also adventurous merchants; their prow goes westward to *Bencoolen*, *Malacca*, and as far as *Acheen* and *Queda*, northward to *Manilla*, and southward to *New Holland*, and the Bugguefs often find their way to the Spice-islands, in spite of the vigilance of the Dutch. The Bugguefs write their language from left to right, in a character peculiar to themselves: on the seacoast they universally speak the Malay tongue, and have many Malay phrases in their language. The laws

Fort *Rotterdam*, which was built by the Macassers, with the assistance of the Portuguese, lies about eight hundred feet from the beach, opposite to the road, where a pierhead extends, which serves for unloading of the ships, and close to which there is fifteen or sixteen feet water.

The plan of this fort has been published in the *Lives of the Governors General of India*, and the ichnography of it remains exactly the same.

The church has been neatly rebuilt a few years ago, and has room for two hundred persons. The seat of the governor is wholly gilt, and is under a canopy, opposite to the pulpit.

The walls of the fortress are high and strong, and constructed of rockstone. Without the landgate there is a large plain, on the north side of which is situated the negree, or village, called *Vlaardingen*, where most of the Europeans reside. The streets cross each other at right angles, pointing to the

laws of the inhabitants of *Celebes* are administered according to old customs, handed down from their ancestors, and retained in the memory of their old men (*cran tuo*); though, in some parts, they are committed to writing: in dubious cases they refer to the Koran, if applicable. T.

four

four cardinal points : most of them are broad, and formed of tolerably good-looking houses. At the end of one of them, stands the orphan-house, which is a large, but very ruinous, building. The Chinese all live together here, in one street, which is named after them. Though it is called the negree, or village, it rather deserves the appellation of town. It is palisadoed all round, and is, at night, closed by gates, where a watch is constantly kept.

Without the village of *Vlaardingen*, to the south, there is a row of buildings, which bound it on that side, and where likewise the house of the governor stands at present. The Bouginese and Malay campons are not far from it.

The campon *Baro*, where most of the natives, and some Europeans, live, is south of the fort : there are likewise a few brick houses in it,

Between it and the fort is the burying-ground, where every European of any consideration has a separate grave, with a tombstone over it, stuccoed white, and inscribed with the names of those who lie buried there, or to whom the grave belongs.

The

The services of religion were administered by a clergyman of the name of DE GRAAF, a most excellent man, and one of the best whom I met with in all India. He was an enemy to all dissention; he ceased not, as long as any discord reigned between any of the members of the congregation, to which he was a faithful pastor, before he had conciliated matters, and yet he was never found to intermeddle in affairs that did not become him. He was wholly free from that spiritual pride, which is observable in so many of the sacerdotal order. In conversation he was friendly and amiable; never dogmatical, and never inclined to condemn his fellow-mortals. In company he was both pleasant and instructive; and nothing indecorous, or incompatible with purity of morals, was ever heard when he was present. In short, he was a man who, as far as could be judged from his actions, sought, in every respect, to follow the golden rule, of loving God and his neighbour. I have given a more ample sketch of this worthy man's character, as it is very rare that such ministers of the gospel are met with in India.

The office of governor is here a very intricate

tricate and important one. The concerns of the Company, which, in all their other settlements, except *Ternate*, are confined to the speculations of commerce, are here of a very different nature. Considered superficially, *Macassar* has been a prejudicial establishment, as it is an annual charge upon the Company of ninety thousand gilders; but if we consider it more attentively, it is one of those possessions which are of the greatest importance to the Company, for the preservation of their exclusive spice-trade. The situation of *Celebes*, in the proximity of the islands which produce those invaluable articles, the power of the nations who inhabit it, and their bent towards navigation and commerce, early induced them to enter into this trade, even long before the arrival of the Europeans in these regions. They carried the spices they obtained to, the then emporiums, *Bantam* and *Malacca*, where they were fetched by other merchants from the west of India, and being conveyed by the Red Sea to *Alexandria*, or by caravans to *Aleppo*, they finally found their way to Europe.

Exclusive of the jealousy which the Company

pany must naturally have entertained of these competitors in their spice-trade, a further motive for apprehension presented itself in the attempts made by the Portuguese, their hereditary enemies, to establish themselves here ; by which the Dutch possessions in the *Moluccas*, and neighbouring islands, would continually run the risk, upon the least change of fortune, of being wrested from them, or at least kept in a constant state of alarm and disquiet.

This at last produced a determination in them, to remove the evil at once ; in which they very happily succeeded, in the year 1667, under the conduct of Governor SPEELMAN, as general ; when, among other advantages, Fort *Rotterdam* was ceded to them, which before bore the name of *Oedjongpandang*, corruptly called by us *Jan Pandan* * ; but we must consider that the war was then only waged against the Macassers, or the kingdom of *Goach*, and that the princes of *Boni*, *Soping*, &c. were at that

* Fort *Rotterdam* was so called from the birthplace of its conqueror, SPEELMAN ; the Macasser name, *Oedjong Pandang*, implies the point of a sacred leaf, and the spot is esteemed holy by the natives. T.

time very insignificant, and had united themselves to the Company by the famous *Boni* contract, which was concluded on the 18th of November, 1667, and to which the Macassers were afterwards compelled equally to accede. Since that time the system of policy adopted by the Company has been to exalt *Boni*, and to humble *Goach*; and in later times this conduct became the source of many wars.

But in order to throw more light upon the affairs of *Macasser*, it is necessary to become acquainted with the principal kingdoms and states of *Celebes*, and to have a sketch of their history down to the present time. A manuscript on this subject has fallen into my hands, which Mr. BLOK, formerly governor of *Macasser*, composed from authentic records, and continued down to his time, that is, till 1759: in order, however, not to repeat too much of what VALENTYN may already have written, whose account of *Macasser* I have not by me, I shall only state the most prominent parts of the history of *Celebes* since the beginning of the present century.

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Kingdom of MACASSER.—Their ancient Traditions.—Sketch of their History.—Oath of Fidelity to the Company taken by the Kings of BONI and of GOACH.—Constitution of GOACH.—Laws.—Religion.—Former Prosperity of the Macassers.—Kingdom of TELLO.—Of SANDRABONY.

THE empire or kingdom of *Macasser*, which, before the conquest of it by the Dutch, was so closely united with those of *Tello* and *Sandrabony*, that it made, as it were, but one state, extended along the sea-coast, from *Boeleboele*, in the bay of *Boni*, to the point of *Lassem* (called *Lassoa*, in our maps), and thence westward to the point of *Touratti*, or *Tanakeke*, and along the west coast, northward, to *Tanette*, or *Aganondje*, and reached inland as far as *Boni* and *Soping*, through the whole of which, the original language of the Macassers then prevailed.

The kings of *Goach* and *Tello* are both
called

called kings of *Macasser*, although each is a separate state, taking their names from their respective capitals, *Goach* and *Tello*.

The ancient fabulous traditions of *Macasser*, according to a manuscript, translated out of their language, of which I had the perusal, make mention of four kings, before the coming of TOEMANOERONG, which signifies, *one descended from heaven*.

It happened, as these traditions relate, at a certain time, after the death of these four kings, that a beautiful woman, adorned with a chain of gold, descended from heaven, and was acknowledged by the Macassers for their queen, under the afore said denomination of TOEMANOERONG.

Upon hearing the report of the appearance upon earth of this celestial beauty, the king of *Bantam* went thither, and sought her hand in marriage, though he had before wedded a princess of *Bontain*. His suit was granted, and a son was begotten in this marriage, of whom TOEMANOERONG was two or three years pregnant, so that the child could both walk and talk, immediately after he was born; but he was
very

very much distorted in shape. His name was TOEMA-SALINGABERIENG. When he was grown up, he broke the chain of gold, which his mother had brought with her from heaven, in two pieces, after which, she, together with her husband, and his brother, vanished in a moment, taking with her the one half of the chain, and leaving the other, and the empire, to her son. This chain, which the Macassers sometimes say is heavy, sometimes, light, at one time, dark coloured, and at another, bright, was ever afterwards one of the principal regalia of the kings of *Goach*, till in the revolution of CRAIN BONTALANCAS, it was lost, as I was informed, together with several other regal insignia.

The manuscript I alluded to, traces the origin of the princes of *Goach* from this son of TOEMANOERONG, who, together with his three successors, it is added, did not die, but vanished in the same manner as their parents; and the eighteenth king after him began his reign under the name of PADUCCA SIRI SULTAN SHAH BADIN ISMAEL.

Although this king did not long occupy
the

the throne, he waged a furious war against the king of *Boni*, who was reinforced by the arms of the Company.

He was deposed by the nine estates of the country of *Goach*, and they elected in his stead the king of *Tello*, who was called MAPPA ORANGIE, but as king of *Goach* he took the name of PADUCCA SIRI SULTAN SIRA JOUDEEN.

In the year 1718, the Macaffer prince, and afterwards famous rebel, CARAING, or CRAIN BONTALANCAS, fled from *Goach*, having killed a daughter of the former king, and sought an asylum among the Dutch, living, under the Company's protection, in the campon *Baro*. He afterwards went from here to *Sumbawa*, and assisted in the war which raged between the Sumbawers and Baliers, in which the king of the former was killed. He wedded the daughter of this prince, who was afterwards queen of *Sumbawa*, and whose mother, marrying with the king of *Goach*, persuaded her daughter to be divorced from CRAIN BONTALANCAS, and to marry a prince of *Sumbawa*.

In the year 1724, the king, SIRA JOUDEEN,
gave

gave up entirely to his son the kingdom of *Tello*, and taking upon himself the sole administration of that of *Goach*, soon gave so much umbrage to the Macasser princes, and especially to BONTALANCAS, that the latter, who was become both furious and desperate, from his forcible separation from his wife, formed a resolution of taking ample revenge upon the king. In order to compass this purpose, he procured, not only several of the discontented Macasser princes, but likewise many Bouginese of high rank, to take part in his conspiracy ; and he afterwards entered into the most solemn engagement with the famous pirate AROE SOENKANG, and his captain TOUASSA, to dethrone the kings of *Goach* and *Boni*, and wholly to expel the Dutch from *Celebes*.

Accordingly he kindled the flames of war, in the year 1734, in *Bontain*, whence they soon spread far and wide. In the beginning of the war, BONTALANCAS gained many advantages, and made so much impression upon the king of *Goach*, that on the 5th of November, 1735, he fled from *Goach* to *Tello* ; upon which the Macasser estates immediately elected his grandson, surnamed

MALAWANGESE

MALAWANGESE ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER, twentieth king of *Goach*. But he likewise was forced to yield to the arms of the rebels, and abandon his capital, which was immediately taken possession of by **CRAIN BONTALANCAS**; while the king, together with a considerable number of Macassers, fled as far as Fort *Rotterdam*, where, in the year 1739, he put himself under the protection of the Company.

CRAIN BONTALANCAS, being master of the country of *Wadjo*, and of part of the kingdom of *Boni*, came down, a short time before, to the northern provinces of the Company, and caused himself to be installed king of *Goach*.

Soon afterwards, he summoned Fort *Rotterdam*, in the name of the three united empires of *Boni*, *Goach*, and *Wadjo*. But the governor not being speedy enough in his determination, the whole force of *Goach* and *Wadjo* soon appeared upon the plain before the fort. The garrison, reinforced by a body of Bouginese, who were attached to the Company, and by the Company's subjects, marched against the enemy the same day, being the 16th of May, 1739, and fall-
ing

ing upon them with great fury, soon put them to flight, and throwing up a battery of sixteen pieces of cannon, where a good number of them took post, they returned in triumph to the fort.

The enemy, on the other hand, intrenched themselves against us, and daily skirmishes took place, till on the 14th of July, when the country being sufficiently dry, that the artillery could be transported, the garrison made another rally, and being joined by their Bouginese allies, and other auxiliaries, together with the Company's subjects and the Macasser refugees before-mentioned, they fell upon the enemy, early in the morning of the 17th of July, by surprise, and after an obstinate resistance, and a bloody battle, which lasted till four o'clock in the afternoon, they gained a complete victory.

This victory was of the greater importance, as by it the treacherous hopes of the Macasser refugees were frustrated; for though they had joined our troops, they were almost all inclined to the rebel party, and had concerted with their chief, that, as soon as the balance turned the least in his favour,

favour, they would join him, and turn themselves against us.

Three days after this, when the rebels again tried their chance, they were beat anew, and put to flight by our troops, leaving behind them many dead and wounded. **CRAIN BONTALANCAS**, who had thrown himself into *Goach* with all his troops, was himself wounded. Our men pursued them hotly, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, they came before the town, and immediately threw up some batteries, which were ready in the evening, and played with so much effect during the night, that at four o'clock the next morning our commander in chief, Admiral **SMOUT**, received intelligence that the enemy had abandoned the town, and had fled to the mountains; by which the war, on this side of *Celebes*, was put an end to. The regalia of *Goach* were immediately collected, and, together with the kingdom of *Macasser*, were restored to the monarch who had last fled from *Goach*, **ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER**, and to the regent of the empire.

Most of the adherents of **CRAIN BONTALANCAS** then came in, and submissively entreated

treated for pardon. Among them, was a man of upwards of a hundred years of age, CRAIN ALAMANPANG, a younger brother of CRAIN POMLIAAN, who had been a fugitive of the former century. On surrendering his kris, he spoke as follows :

“ I have beheld this city of *Goach*, in its
 “ proudest lustre, when it ruled over the
 “ whole island of *Celebes* ; I afterwards was
 “ a witness to its first humiliation, when
 “ we were subdued by the Company ; it was
 “ then thought its fame and honour were
 “ greatly tarnished, yet it was still populous
 “ and-respected; but now I look around me,
 “ and behold nought but ruins and disho-
 “ nour. I surrendered my kris, the first
 “ time at *Samboepo*, once more at *Sourabaya*,
 “ and now here, for the third time, to the
 “ conquering arms of the Company ; leave
 “ to an old man now the only consolation
 “ that remains—to die in peace.”

He received a free pardon, and his kris was restored to him.

A short time afterwards, intelligence was received that CRAIN BONTALANCAS had died of his wounds.

King ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER dying
 on

on the 27th of July, 1742, in the seventeenth year of his age, his brother, MAPPA BABASSA, a child of eight years old, was chosen successor to the crown of *Goach*, under the guardianship of the regent, CRAIN MADJENNANG. Nothing material occurred during his reign. He died on the 21st of December, 1753, and was succeeded by his son AMAS MADINA, surnamed PATTEMA THARIE, who was the twenty-second king of *Goach*, and in the year 1758, was renamed BATTARA GOACH, by the regent, who was, at the same time, his grandfather.

Thus far the manuscript of Mr. BLOK. What follows, was related to me at *Maccasser*.

After the death of his grandfather, the regency fell into the hands of the uncle of king BATTARA. This man, urged by the ambition of enjoying the crown himself, caused so much vexation to his nephew and sovereign, that the latter abandoned his kingdom and *Celebes*, and fled to the westward, no one knew whither.

But the regent, seeing that matters were not yet sufficiently ripe, nor the nobles of
Goach

Goach properly prepared to admit of his usurping the crown himself, contrived that a younger brother of the king should be exalted to the throne ; whose life, however, he equally found means to embitter so much, that he also quitted his dignity and country in despair *. Upon this, the artful regent was consecrated king, and he took upon himself, at the same time, the office of regent, or prime minister, in order to avoid another's playing the same part which he had acted before.

This prince was on the throne in the year 1775, when I was there. He was described to me as a very wise monarch, who distributed impartial justice to his subjects, and kept a watchful eye over all the foreign relations of his country ; especially over the kingdom of *Boni*, for which, in

* It was in the year 1767, that the king of *Goach*, thinking himself insecure on his throne, abandoned his kingdom, and fled to *Bima*, where he was overtaken and sent to *Batavia*. He was a weak and pusillanimous prince, and preferred a petition to the Dutch government that he might be exiled to *Ceylon*, where he lived for many years, in the castle of *Colembo*, receiving a monthly allowance of fifty rixdollars (about 130*l.* sterling per annum) from the Company. *Huyfers beschryving der Oost-Indische Etablissemten*, page 42. T.

common with all the other kings of *Goach*, he entertained the most inveterate hatred; for its present prosperity and power were founded upon the decline and ruin of *Macasser*. An equally deeprooted mutual hate exists at *Boni*, where they leave nothing untried, by means of their more strict connections with the Company, to humble the power of *Macasser*, and render its fidelity suspected.

An instance hereof occurred in the year 1770, upon the arrival of the present governor of *Macasser*, Mr. VAN DER VOORT. The king of *Boni*, having received information that a new governor was expected from *Batavia*, caused an intimation to be conveyed to the king of *Goach*, by a third or fourth hand, that one of the fugitive princes was coming over with the governor, who was to be restored to the throne of his ancestors, while the usurper would be taken prisoner, and sent into banishment. In order to effect the latter purpose, it was alleged, that the opportunity would be availed of, when the king of *Goach*, according to ancient custom, came to renew the oath of fidelity to the
Company,

Company, upon the accession of a new governor *.

This prince, deceived hereby, came, at the appointed time, to Fort *Rotterdam*, not with his usual suite, but accompanied by five or six thousand well-armed men, and refused to enter the walls of the fortrefs without these troops, saying, at the same time, the reason why he came in this manner ; but when the Company's servants

* The oath of fidelity, and alliance to the Company, is taken by the kings of *Goach* and of *Boni*, with the following ceremonies : The king, dressed in cloth of gold, and wearing the chain which the Company have presented to him, in token of alliance, and every link of which represents a flower made of massy gold, with a medal pendant from it, with the initial letters of the united East-India Company engraved upon it, presents himself with his courtiers and lifeguards at the government-house in Fort *Rotterdam*. His attendants first dance their war-dance, with their knives and assagays. A chapter of the Koran, relating to the taking of oaths, is then read to the king, in Arabian, to which he listens with great attention and veneration. He then folds his hands, and lays them three times upon the book, and afterwards upon his head. Next he takes his kris of state, and dipping the point of it in a silver horn of water, stirs it about with it, and lets a few drops which remain upon the point fall upon his tongue ; by which the oath is completed, in the most solemn manner. S.

pointed

pointed out to him the groundlessness of his suspicions, and the evident falsity of his information, he was prevailed upon to lay aside his distrust, and every thing passed off without further difficulty ; so that the king of *Boni* was disappointed in his object. Yet the king was so fearful, and upon his guard, at the feast which the governor gave that day to the native princes, that neither he, nor his attendants, would touch any wine, nor any of the provisions which were set before them.

I saw this prince twice ; he is rather corpulent, grave in his appearance and conversation, and attentive and reserved in his manners.

The king of *Goach* is not an absolute sovereign : he is subject to the laws of the land, and may not perform any important regal functions, without the concurrence and approbation of the body of nobility. Crimes are punished according to laws, and not by the arbitrary will of the monarch. His privy counsellors are called *tamani lalangs*.

Every negree, or township, has a chief,
called

called *galarang* : this rank was instituted by the eighth king of *Goach*, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, perhaps at the instance of the Portuguese, who first arrived at *Celebes*, and obtained a footing there during the reign of that king, in the year 1512.

His successor appointed and regulated measures and weights for general use ; he fixed prices upon the articles of trade ; he manufactured gunpowder, and first mounted artillery upon the walls of *Goach*. He afterwards, not only allowed the Malays to settle in his states, but, together with other privileges, he granted them that of building a temple, and openly professing the Mahomedan faith. This religion gained so much ground here, that the Macassers, by means of the Malays, dispatched an embassy to *Mecca*, to fetch a *stadja*, or priest, from that place, for the purpose of instructing them in the religion of the Arabian impostor, which was at last universally established throughout the Macasser empire, in the year 1603, under the thirteenth king, SULTAN ALLAH OUDEEN ; and three years afterwards

afterwards they forced the people of *Boni* equally to subscribe to the doctrines of the Koran.

The power of *Macasser* was at its highest pitch about the middle of the last century, when its princes not only ruled over almost the whole of *Celebes*, but had likewise rendered *Loma*, *Mandelley*, *Bima*, *Tambora*, *Dampo*, and *Sangar*, tributary to them, and had conquered *Bouton*, *Bungay*, *Gapi*, the *Xulla* islands, and *Sumbawa*. They moreover held the government of *Saley*, which had been given to *Macasser*, by BAAB ULLACH, king of *Ternate*; they were in strict alliance with the inhabitants of *Bali*, and coined the first gold coins, which were probably the gold *mas*, of the value of sixty Dutch flivers.

About that time also, the alliance between *Goach* and *Tello* was renewed; and these two states were so firmly united together, that it was a common saying, that there were “two lords, but one people.” By the articles of union, it was settled, that all levies and contributions from conquered provinces, &c. should be divided into five parts, two of which were to be given to
Goach,

Goach, and two to *Tello*, while the fifth should fall to the share of the eldest of the two kings; that the eldest of the kings should always exercise the office of regent, or prime minister, to his junior colleague; that they should both be equal in dignity; and, lastly, that they should both enjoy the title of *sambanco*, signifying as much as emperor.

The empire of *Macasser* has at present so much declined, under the influence of the powerful arms, and the artful policy, of the Company, that the king of *Boni* is now much superior to *Goach*, both in extent of territory, and number of subjects; although in war a *Macasser* is better than three *Bouginese*, on account of their martial character, and undaunted courage, which notwithstanding all the adversities which have fallen upon them, for a century past, have never been subdued, or diminished *.

It

* In 1778, a finishing stroke was given to the independence, and power of resistance, of *Goach*; the reins of government were, at that time, on account of the nonage of the king, in the hands of his mother, queen RADJA POLAKKA, a woman of an ambitious and intriguing disposition, who, pro-

It is worthy of remark, that the kings of *Macaffer* have a new name given to them after their death, and that their successor must be nominated before their interment.

The kingdom of *Tello* was bounded, in the year 1667, to the north, by the *Coerees*, two islands, situated a little to the southward of the river *Maros*, and to the south it reached as far as Fort *Rotterdam*. The intimate connection between this kingdom and that of *Goach*, has before been mentioned; and both have, in consequence, participated in the same changes of fortune.

The ninth king of *Tello*, ABDAL CARIE, died in January, 1709, and was succeeded by his son, MAPPA ORANGIE, who was elected king of *Goach* in the year 1712, and ruled over both kingdoms till the year 1724, when he gave up that of *Tello*, to his

probably aiming at the total emancipation of her country from the yoke of the Company, raised a rebellion against it, in which her forces were subdued, the city of *Goach* taken by assault, its fortifications razed, and the government new modelled, so as to be entirely conformable to the views of the conquerors. T.

son,

son, MAN RADJA, or RADJA MOUDEN. To him succeeded, according to the records of the Company, but in what year is not mentioned, his brother, MAPPA ENGA, or JAPPEE OEDEN; this prince, known by the name of CRAIN TELLO, was the grandfather, and regent, of the king of *Goach*, in the year 1759, and an inveterate enemy of the Company. After his death, his daughter, the present reigning queen, succeeded to the crown.

The kingdom of *Sandraboni*, lying within the bounds of *Macasser*, on the western coast of *Celebes*, between the Company's lands at *Galissong* and *Poelonbanbeen*, is small in extent, yet independant of *Goach*. In the time of TOENA PARIE, king of *Macasser*, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the queen of *Sandraboni* entered in an alliance with the *Macassers*, its liberties and immunities remaining, however, unimpaired; and since that time, it has, as well as *Tello*, been subjected to the same fortunes as *Goach*.

MAPPA DOELANG, afterwards king of *Goach*, ruled over this small state, at the time of the war conducted by General
SPEELMAN,

SPEELMAN, and, together with his nobles, accepted and swore to the engagements with the Company, in 1667 and 1669. The kings of *Sandraboni* are mostly related to the royal family of *Goach*.

The city stands a little inland, on the banks of a river, whence the kingdom derives its name. It was built about the same period as *Samboupo* and *Tello*. This is all that I learnt respecting it.

CHAPTER IX.

Account of the Kingdom of BONI.—Sketch of its History.—Their first Kings.—Origin of their Enmity to GOACH.—Singular Revolutions under Queen BATTARA TODJA.—Piracies of AROE SEENKANG.—War with WADJO.—ARONE TANETE, a Cannibal—Method of accusing and punishing Criminals.—Story of a Duel between two Princes, Grandsons of the reigning King.—Cruelty of the King towards the Object of their Disagreement.

AT the time of the Boni contract, that kingdom extended along the western shore of the gulph, which is still called the Bay of *Boni* *, from the river *Chinrana* to the river *Salenico*,

* Called *Sewa* by the natives, and *Bugguefs*, or *Ling-Bay*, by the English. The following account of it, given by Captain FOREST, from the information of a *Bugguefs noquet-dab*, or sea-captain, may not be unacceptable: “ Having “ passed the strait between *Celebes* and *Saleyor*, called the “ *Budgeroons*, keep on in a direction N.E. by N. about 130 “ miles, and you will find, near the west coast of the *Sewa*, “ a small island called *Ba'oonroo*: it is visible eight or ten leagues

Salenico, a length of about twenty leagues ; inland it bordered upon *Soping*, *Lamoere*, *Macasser*, and *Boeleboele*. This kingdom was independent of, and unconnected with, any other, in very ancient times. Their

“ leagues off, and has some rocky islets at its east end. Farther on, about a day’s sail, which I fix at sixty miles, is the mouth of the river *Chinrana* : this river takes its rise in the *Warjoo* country, the capital of which is called *Tofforo*, and lies a day’s journey by water from the mouth of the river ; it afterwards passes through *Boni* : it has a good muddy bar, passable by large ships, and is navigable a good way up ; it has several mouths, and there are many towns on its banks, where a great trade is carried on in gold, rice, sago, cassia, tortoise-shell, pearls, &c. : the anchorage is good off the river’s mouth. Half a day’s sail farther north, along the west coast of the *Sewa*, is the river *Peeneeskee*, not very considerable. Farther on are two places called *Akolingan* and *Telludopin*, which are pretty well inhabited. Continuing still north, you come to the river *Sewa*, not very considerable ; then to the river *Loe*, famous for boat-building : then you come to *Mankakoo*, where there is gold, and much sago, very cheap ; they have also cassia and seed-pearl. Being now come to the bottom of *Buggefs-Bay*, the sago-tree abounds very much ; and in many parts of the *Sewa*, there are spots of foul ground, on which they fish for swallow, which they generally carry to *Macasser*, to sell to the china junk. On the east side of the *Sewa*, the country is not so well inhabited, as on the west side. The southeast point of the *Sewa* is called *Pajungan* : here is a cluster of islands, rather small, with good anchorage amongst them.” T.

traditions

traditions affirm that their first king likewise descended from heaven. When he came upon earth, he had no name, but was afterwards called MATTA SALOMPO, by the people, signifying as much as *all-seeing*. He married a princess of *Toro*, who was equally of celestial origin; he had by her one son and five daughters, from whom all the succeeding kings of *Boni* are descended, and of whose posterity, born from marriages with royal princesses, such only being, in every respect, entitled to the crown, according to Mr. BLOK's account, no other remained alive, in 1759, than AROE PALAKKA, the grandmother of the then reigning king of *Goach*. She was still living when I was at *Macasser* in 1775, and governed as queen of *Tannetta*.

This, their first monarch, instituted the laws of the country, which are still observed; he made the royal standard, called *Worong Porong*; and appointed seven electors, under the denomination of *matoua petoes*. These are hereditary in seven families, though it has sometimes happened that two, and even three of them, have been of the same lineage. This high office descends

descends upon women, as well as upon men. All matters of importance, relating to the kingdom, must be determined by them: their power, in particular, extends over the election and deposition of the kings, and the making of peace and war *.

King MATTA SALOMPO, say the natives, after having reigned forty years over them, ascended into heaven with his queen.

The Bouginese, and Queen TARRE TOEPOE, who then ruled over them, were compelled, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to conform to the Mahomedan religion, and the condition was, moreover, imposed upon them, that the enemies of *Macasser* should likewise be the enemies of *Boni*, but not the enemies of *Boni* those of *Macasser*.

* According to FOREST, *Boni* is governed by a prince, who is called *pajong*. He is elected for life by seven nobles, a fixed number, which may be kept up by the *pajong* (but not encreased), from the *dyons* (certain freeholders). The *pajong* is often restrained by a sort of parliament, elected by the freeholders; it consists of 400 members, 200 of which are called *mattoua*, 100 are called *pabicharro*, and 100 are called *galarang*. "But of this," he adds, "I never learnt a distinct account; and I mention it only as a hint for future travellers." T.

This

This was the first blow which was given to the greatness of *Boni*, although they were able to bring seventy thousand fighting men into the field.

The hatred which, by this means, was excited among the Bouginese, against the Macassers, was greatly instrumental to the success of the arms of the Company against *Macasser*. RADJA PALACCA, a Bouginese prince, whose exertions in particular contributed much to the completion of the conquest of *Macasser*, was afterwards chosen king of *Boni*, by the electors, and rendered himself so famous and powerful, extending the bounds of his kingdom in every way, that he was called by his people TOENEE SOMBAYA, signifying, *a king before whom all others must humble themselves*.

He died on the 6th of April, 1696, and was succeeded by his son, LAPATOUA, as fifteenth king of *Boni*, who, after having been the cause of much uneasiness to the Company, died in the year 1713.

His daughter, BATTARA TODJA, likewise called AROE TOEMOERANG, succeeded him, as the sixteenth sovereign of *Boni*. After
reigning

reigning a short time, she resigned the government, in the year 1715, into the hands of her half-brother, LAPADANY SADJATI, surnamed TOAPANNARA AROE PALACCA ; but his ill treatment of his sister and her husband, whom he caused to be *rampassed*, or beaten with sticks, and whom he threw into confinement at *Boni*, without any shadow of reason, or legal pretence, was so much disapproved of, and resented by the nobles, that shortly afterwards, on the 20th of January, 1720, he was not only deposed, but, together with his wife, was thrown into prison. After this, the Bouginese again gave the kingdom to BATTARA TODJA, who, however, directly resigned it anew, to her eldest half-brother, the dethroned king of *Goach*, SAPPUALEE, then surnamed MADANRANG ; he, likewise, was deposed in the year 1724, after a short and turbulent reign, on account of his dissolute conduct, and his youngest brother, TOPAWANOI, or AROE MANO, afterwards called CRAIN BESSEI, was chosen in his stead ; on the fourth day after his appointment he was also set aside, and in his room BATTARA TODJA was chosen queen for the third time ; she
became

became at the same time *datoua*, or queen of *Loehoe*, and not long afterwards queen of *Soping* also ; her husband was appointed co-regent with her, of the kingdom ; he died in the year 1725, after which she was married, for the fourth time, to AROE KAYOE, who was, shortly after his nuptials equally made co-regent of the kingdom. But the queen being at variance with her brothers, one of whom she had caused to be killed, and being dissatisfied with Mr. GOUBIUS, at that time the Company's governor at *Macasser*, went away to *Soping*, where she caused herself to be inaugurated as queen.

Her husband, the regent, AROE KAYOE, now thinking himself king of *Boni*, resolved to supplant his queen and consort, and to take again to his bed his first beloved wife, CRAIN BONTO MAJENE, whom he had repudiated in order to marry the queen ; but when this design was discovered, in the year 1728, he was immediately declared unworthy of the regentship, and his life was so much endangered, that he was obliged to fly by night to *Tello*, where he received protection. He afterwards became
connected

connected with CRAIN BONTALANCAS, and lost his life in the commotions excited by that famous rebel.

In the year 1730, the three remaining brothers of the queen of *Boni*, came from *Bouton*, whither they had fled, for fear of their sister, and took refuge under the protection of the Company, who allowed them to reside in the campon *Baro*.

The queen, in the mean time, continued discontented with the Company, because the province of *Bontain* was withheld from her ; while her *madanrang*, or general in chief, and her *tomarilalangs*, or privy counsellors, conducted every thing at *Boni* according to their own wishes, and adhering to the enemies of the Company who arose about this time, AROE SEENKANG, and his followers, and the rebel, CRAIN BONTALANCAS, they prepared the way for the ruin of the kingdom of *Boni*, which was effected in the following manner :

AROE SEENKANG, a discontented Wadjorese prince, had, for some time, together with his captain, *laut*, or admiral, *toussa*, been committing piracies ; he had taken

Passir

Paffir and *Coety*, and had even attacked the vessels of the Company.

These freebooters, therefore, in the years 1735 and 1736, carrying their depredations to a great excess, in the neighbourhood of *Mandhar* and *Cajelie*, were encountered by the cruising vessels of the Company, but to no purpose ; and, in the beginning of the year 1736, they landed in sight of Fort *Rotterdam*, on the adjacent islands, belonging to the Company, where they plundered the inhabitants, and burnt their houses. Upon this our government equipped some vessels at *Macasser*, who attacked the enemy, but the battle was stopped by the evening coming on ; and in the night, the enemy having effected their purposes, cunningly gave us the slip, and got away to *Wadjo*, without having suffered any material damage.

The Wadjorese, notwithstanding the earnest representations of the Company's servants, obstinately refused to deliver up AROE SEENKANG ; and the Bouginese, in consequence, declared war against them. But it was prosecuted with very little vigour ;
for

for the general, and the counsellors of *Boni*, as we have before seen, were in collusion with the enemy ; whence this war had an unfortunate issue.

The queen of *Boni* perceiving the treachery, though too late, sent for the princes, her brothers, who had left *Bouton*, and were gone over to the Company, and gave the command of the army to the eldest ; but matters had already taken so bad a turn, that there was scarcely any possibility of retrieving them, so that they were compelled to make peace with *Wadjo*.

A little before, our people, at the request of the Soping nobles, had let AROE TANETE, surnamed *the Mad Duke* *, go to *Soping*, to defend that country against the Wadjorese ; but he, attending little to the war with *Wadjo*, procured, by his intrigues, the Sopingers to depose their queen, and elect him for their *datoua*, or king, in her

* Of this AROE TANETE it was related, that, like the ancient inhabitants of *Celebes*, he was a cannibal, and remarkably fond of human flesh, so that he even used to fatten his prisoners, and cutting their heart out alive, he eat it raw, with pepper and salt, esteeming it the most delicious morsel of all. S.

stead :

stead ; after which he likewise contrived to have himself chosen king by the Bouginese, of which election they gave communication to the Company's servants at Fort *Rotterdam* ; but it met with their marked disapprobation ; and when the queen herself came forward, he was obliged to give way to her by flight.

Upon this, the Wadjorese made themselves masters of *Boni*, appointed another queen, acknowledged the rebel CRAIN BONTALANCAS for king of *Goach*, and declared themselves, in this manner, as three united countries, and enemies of the Company.

In the month of April, 1739, they came down, took possession of *Goach*, and summoned Fort *Rotterdam* to surrender. What happened afterwards, I have before related, in the account I have given of *Goach*.

When the Company were saved by the fortune of arms, the next step to be taken was to relieve *Boni* ; but this, for some unknown reason, was only done by halves ; for when the Wadjorese were twice beaten, they were not pursued as far as their capital, *Tossora* ; and those people, who refused to renew their engagements with the Company,

were

were suffered to do as they liked, while the disputes with *Wadjo*, as well on the part of the Company, as on the part of *Boni*, remain unsettled to the present day. [Written in the year 1759.]

In the mean time, in order, as was pretended, to forward the restoration of the public tranquillity, the queen of *Boni* was prevented from prosecuting her just claim against *AROE TANETE*, or the *Mad Duke*; and, to her further chagrin, the grant of *Bontain*, which province had been given to that princess, in the same manner as to her predecessors, as a reward for past services, by the Dutch government at *Batavia*, was annulled.

She died in the year 1749, and her half-brother, *LAMA OSSONG*, was chosen successor to the crown of *Boni*, under the name of *ABDUL ZADSHAB DJALALOEDEEN*, who was the reigning king when I was at *Celebes*, in 1775. He was then a man of upwards of eighty years old, and he dwelt in the *Bouginese* campon, which is not far from our town of *Vlaardingen*, and, like most of the native villages, is a place of little consideration.

He

He did not shew much esteem for the Europeans ; he governed his subjects in an arbitrary manner, with much severity, and paid very little regard to the laws of the country, which he always explained according to his will.

All criminals are accused before the king, who commissions his prime minister, and one or two more of the nobles, to examine into the affair. As soon as a report is made concerning it, if the culprit be thought worthy of death, the king gives a sign with his eyes, and he is immediately carried out and killed with a kris. If aggravating circumstances occur, the king gives directions for a more severe punishment ; the criminal is then bound to a tree, and he is pricked full of skin-deep wounds with krisses, and rubbed with fugar or molasses ; the whole body is soon entirely covered with ants, and the poor wretch is not relieved by death, before he has suffered the greatest torments. But one of the *grande*s of the kingdom, or a man of noble birth, is never otherwise put to death for any crime than by the more merciful method of plunging a kris into his bosom.

Mr.

Mr. VAN PLEUREN related to me the following instance of the cruel character of this monarch, which had occurred about two years before.

Two princes, grandsons of the king, became both enamoured of the same person, a young princess, who was scarcely more than twelve years old ; she was an exquisite beauty, possessed of every accomplishment that an education at the court of an eastern monarch could procure her. Both the lovers, notwithstanding their earnest solicitations that she would make choice of one who should be the favoured youth, could not prevail upon her, for a long time, to decide between them ; overcome, however, at length, by the vehemence of their entreaties, she at last declared in favour of the youngest. This, as might be supposed, occasioned an implacable enmity between the two princes, which was carried to such a height, that they drew their knives against each other, in a solitary place, with such fury, that, had they not been fortunately separated by some people who came in time to prevent a fatal catastrophe, they would
probably

probably have both fallen victims to their jealousy and love.

As soon as this occurrence came to the ears of the king, he sent for both princes, and reproached them with great asperity, that they were near depriving him of two of his children, by their rash and foolish conduct, which was the more unpardonable, being merely for the sake of a woman. He then commanded them immediately to dismiss their animosity, and to live thenceforward together with their accustomed fraternal affection.

Thus far all was right. He next sent for the young princess, and sternly asked her, how she dared to avow a choice between two of his grandsons? The poor girl, trembling and in tears, could make no other reply, than that she had not done so before she was absolutely compelled to it, and was afraid of fatal consequences, if she had remained obstinate in her refusal.

This disculpation was of no avail to soften the indignation of the king; he knew, he said, a way to preserve his children, both from such debasing love, and from the dangerous

gerous consequences of it, and that it would be an unheard-of event that one of his sons should lose his life for the sake of a boyish attachment. He then gave the wonted sign of death, and the wretched object of the violent love, and furious hatred, of the two princes, was carried out, and pierced to the heart, without there being any one found who durst pretend to be her advocate, or that her youth and beauty made the least impression upon the obdurate heart of the cruel monarch.

CHAPTER X.

Account of the Kingdom of SOPING.—Sketch of its History.—LOEHOE.—Its Productions.—Diffolute Conduct of the present Queen.—TANETE.—Its History.—The Country of MANDHAR.—Its Government.—History.—TOADJA, or WADJO.—Its singular Constitution.

THE kingdom of *Soping* was anciently one of the most powerful states of *Celebes*; it lies partly along the western shore of the bay of *Boni*; to the north, it is bounded by the great lake, called *Tamparang Laba*; and to the south, it borders upon *Lamoeroe*, which, together with several other small states, formerly belonged to it, but which afterwards became either independent or united to *Boni*.

It yields nothing but *paddee*. In the year 1661, after the flight of RADJA PALACCA, it became a fief of *Macaffer*; but, in the year 1667, it was restored to its liberty by the Company.

The kings of *Soping* have been allied by
marriages

marriages to those of *Boni* from time immemorial. The Sopingers pretend, in the same manner as those of *Macasser* and *Boni*, that their first king equally descended from heaven. After him, a series of sovereigns, as well kings as queens, ruled over them, of whom the present reigning king of *Boni* is the twenty-second, who, with the consent of the nobles of *Soping*, governed the kingdom by means of a viceroy; at present, however, namely, in 1775, it is again under its own king, who married the daughter of the king of *Boni*. He is a faithful ally of the Company, and follows in all things the advice of the governor of *Macasser*, although by the bravery of his people, for one Soping is better in war than three Bouginese, he could do much more than the king of *Boni*. His son is educated at the court of his maternal grandfather.

The part which this kingdom took in the troubles, at the time of CRAIN BONTALANCAS and AROE TANETE, has before been mentioned.

The kingdom of *Loeboe*, or *Loeboe*, was the most powerful and most extensive of all
the

the states of *Celebes*, before those of *Macasser* and *Boni* attained their subsequent celebrity. It stretches at present from *Pelopa*, the capital of the country, to *Larompo*, being an extent of about twenty leagues along the western shore of the bay of *Boni*, and from the other side of the city, over the whole of the southeastern part of *Celebes*, between *Bugguefs*-Bay and the eastern coast of the island, as far as the Alforese will suffer them inland; to the west, it is bounded by *Wadjo*, and to the north, by *Toradja*.

The land is fertile in *paddee*; it yields likewise good iron, and much gold is found in the rivers*.

Mr. BLOK has not obtained any information respecting their ancient history or kings. The first king of whom mention is made in the records of the Company, is called CRAIN HAROO; he was subdued by the arms of the Company, at the same time with the Macassers at *Bouton*.

The queen who ruled over the country,

* The gold of *Celebes* is generally got, as on *Sumatra*, from the beds of rivers and torrents, and there are many springs issuing from crevices of rocks, that bring some gold along with the water, which running through a vessel, bottomed with sand, leaves its treasure behind. T.

when

when the account of Mr. BLOK was written was called TANRALELE, and sometimes ASHA ; she was, at the same time, queen of *Tanete* ; but she was afterwards deprived of the crown, by the machinations of the king of *Boni*, on account of her alleged dissolute life ; for, notwithstanding she was already very far advanced in years, she had the finest men daily brought to her, for the satisfaction of her shameful licentiousness ; while, if she met with any one, whom she did not approve, she had him immediately killed and thrown into the river : a grandson of the king of *Boni* was appointed king in her stead.

This kingdom is likewise in alliance with the Company, and consequently dependent upon them.

The kingdom of *Tanete*, or *Aga Nonsha*, signifying a bridge, or ford, lies halfway between Fort *Rotterdam* and the bay of *Sorian*. It is bounded to the east, by the principality of *Mariowi-wavo* ; to the north, by *Barroe* ; to the south, by *Sageree* ; and to the west, by the sea. It stood, in former times, on friendly terms with *Macasser* ; afterwards, upon a war breaking out be-

tween

tween them, although *Tanete* was conquered, it was still reputed independent and a free ally of *Macasser* ; but when the king gradually began to extend his power over this country, it was, and justly, looked upon as a state dependent upon that of *Macasser*, as it is called in the reports of the conference of *Macasser*, on the 7th of September, 1668.

At the time of Mr. SPEELMAN, one king IBRAHIM reigned here ; who, during the peace of *Bonaye*, joined the Company, and was received as one of their allies, after having entered into and sworn to the engagements dictated at that time by the Company, to which his successors have ever since adhered.

The present queen TANRALELE, upon her being made queen of *Loehoe*, and going thither, gave up the government of *Tanete* to the king of *Boni*, and to the Company ; but having, some years afterwards, been driven from the throne of *Loehoe*, she came back, and resumed the administration of her own state.

The country of *Mandhar* borders upon the sea, to the west ; upon *Cajelie*, to the north ;
upon

upon *Bionangis*, to the south; and to the east, upon a tract of desert mountains, which afford a secure refuge to the inhabitants, when they are attacked by too powerful enemies; they then abandon to them their deserted villages on the seacoast, and do not return to their habitations till they have been left by the invaders.

The government of this country was vested, in former times, in ten nobles, or estates, who had all entered into engagements with the Company; three of them voluntarily; the seven others are commonly called *princes of the seven rivers*. They formerly were subject to the Macassers, and, in token of allegiance, were obliged to send a yearly tribute of long shields; they even were forced to receive a governor from *Macasser*; whom they, however, rejected, in the year 1658, though they remained otherwise faithful to that country.

By the contract of *Boni*, the Macassers resigned all claim to the dominion over *Mandhar*; after which their princes, or estates, were several times summoned to enter into treaty with the Company; but they all, except one, obstinately refused to
do

do it. On this account, they were made war against by the Company, and by the Bouginese, but were never subdued, as they always fled to the mountains ; but, in the year 1674, fearing that they should be attacked by RADJA PALAKKA, they humbled themselves before the Company, and signed and swore to the engagements required. Yet they never much observed them, especially not those articles which bind them not to navigate any vessels without passes from the Company, and which forbid them to admit any vessels into their harbours which are not provided with such passes. Nevertheless they are deserving of praise and esteem for the respect which they otherwise pay to the Company and to *Boni*, and for the readiness which they shewed in assisting the Company in the last war.

Toadja, as pronounced by the Macassers, or *Wadjo*, as pronounced by the Bouginese, is situated north of the river *Chinnanse Boni*, which divides this country from that of *Boni*, extending to *Panekee*, which, though a free state, is esteemed a dependency of *Wadjo*, and which reaches to *Cotenga*. Behind *Panekee* and *Kera*, *Wadjo* stretches northwards

wards to *Larompo*, or *Loehoe*. To the west it touches upon the borders of *Adja Tamparang*, or *Sedeenring*.

It is governed by forty princes, or regents, amongst whom women are admitted equally with men. These nobles are all obliged to remain in *Wadjo*; yet, when requisite, they are allowed to go, for a short time, to their lands, in order to effect what may be necessary, but as soon as this is done, they must immediately return to *Wadjo*.

The forty are divided into three distinct bodies, or estates, each of which has a chief banner, or flag, to which they belong. Out of each of these three, again, two chiefs are chosen, one for warlike affairs, who is styled *patara*, and the other for the civil administration of the government, styled *padenrang*, who have for their president the *mattoua*, or elected king, who belongs to neither of the three estates, and constitutes the fortieth prince, so that each division consists of thirteen members.

These last seven chiefs, to which high authority no woman is admissible, form an assembly, in whom the chief government in every thing is vested, in the name of the
 forty

forty nobles of *Wadjo*, except in the point of making war or peace, for which the grand council of the forty are assembled, in whose deliberations the *mattoua* has, if necessary, a double or casting vote *.

Upon the decease of this eminent chief, the three estates, or the thirty-nine nobles

* Though our Dutch traveller had undoubtedly the best opportunities for becoming acquainted with the several republican, or rather feudal, constitutions which appear to prevail in the petty states of *Celebes*, it may not be unpleasing to compare his account with that of Captain FORREST, who navigated in the eastern parts of India, at different times, from 1763 to 1776, and whose information on this subject was obtained from the Indians. “*Warjoo*, or *Tuadjoo*,” he says, “is governed by an elective prince, called *aramatooa*. He is elected for life by the four nobles of the highest rank, called *oran cayo batta bazar* (nobles of the great flag), from the body of an inferior nobility, called *oran cayo batta ampat polo* (nobles of the forty flags, there being forty in number). When elected, if he should say, ‘I am poor,’ which may be the case, the reply made to him, by the nobleman who presides at the election, is, *Warjoo berennee*, *Warjoo caio*, *Warjoo guasso*, which signifies, *Warjoo* is brave, rich, and powerful; intimating, no doubt, that he shall want for nothing. He then accepts of the government. Besides the four high, and the forty inferior, nobles, there is still a kind of freeholders, called *dyons*, as in *Bani*. The *aramatooa* can only keep up the number of the four high and forty inferior nobility, when they are, by want of heirs, extinct; but he cannot increase the number. In *Warjoo*, the nobility is hereditary.” *Account of Celebes*, added to *Forrest’s Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago*, page 75.

as they are then reduced to, are equally assembled, who elect one of their own body to succeed to his dignity, without paying any particular attention to his family : but such regentships of the forty, as happen to be vacant, are filled up from the nearest relations of the deceased king, provided they are not born of a bondswoman.

These people had their share in the general oppression which was the consequence of the extension of the power of *Macasser*, but they redeemed their freedom, by the payment of one hundred *cattis*, being one hundred and twenty-five pounds of gold.

They live very peaceably among themselves, and follow their commercial pursuits with much activity. They are the greatest merchants of *Celebes*, and at present, also, the richest and most redoubted nation of the island. They pay no regard to any engagements either with the Company, or with *Boni*, alleging that they have been cancelled by the last war ; since, after that time, *Wadjo* has increased in power, in proportion as the consideration of *Boni* has declined.

CHAPTER XI.

Account of the Kingdom of TOURATTEA. — The Country of LINQUES. — TOURADJA. — The People called Boadjoos. — The Kings of EREKA and LETHA. — The Country of CAJELIE. — Its Productions. — TOERONGAN. — Its Dependencies. — BOELE-BOELE. — The Island BOUTON. — Various petty States upon the Island SUMBAWA. — PASSIR and COETI, in BORNEO.

TOURATTEA extends from the river *Tjeeka*, along the sea-coast, to the south and east, to the river *Tino*, the eastern bank of which belongs to *Bontain*; it is bounded on the north, by *Macasser*, and on the west and south, by the sea.

In ancient times it was inhabited by a free people, living under several independent princes; the chief of whom were those of *Binano* and *Bankale*. The country of *Linques* lies between the two last named states, not far from the bay of *Tourattea*. By the contract of *Boni*, their independence was allowed by the Company, although the
king

king of *Boni* looks upon them as his subjects, without admitting them to be equally allies of the Company.

Touradja is a large country, lying inland, bordering to the north, upon the Alforese mountains, which separate it from the bay of *Tominee*; to the east, upon *Loehoe* and *Wadjo*; to the south, upon *Sedeenring*, and to the west, upon the *Mandharese* mountains.

A large proportion of the *Touradjese* are mountaineers, and idolaters. Another part live upon the water, and their vessels are continually roving round *Celebes*, the island of *Ende* and *Sumbawa*. These subsist by fishing, by the preparing of *tripangs* *, and by catching of tortoises for the shells; they are likewise called *Boadjoo*s, and are esteemed slaves of *Boni*, or of *Goach* †.

The

* The same with swallow, or sea-slug, mentioned in the following note. †.

† The *Boadjoo* people, who are likewise called *oran laut*, or men of the sea, are a kind of itinerant fishermen, said to come originally from *Jobore*, at the east entrance of the Straits of *Malacca*, though some are of opinion that they must have come either from *China*, or *Japan*. They live chiefly in small covered boats, on the coasts of *Borneo*, *Celebes*, and the adjacent

The kings of *Ereka* and *Letba*, two small districts, in the western part of *Touradja*, are also in alliance with the Company.

Cajelie

adjacent islands. Others dwell close to the sea, on those islands, their houses being raised on posts, a little distance into the sea, always at the mouths of rivers. They are Mahomedans. They have a language of their own, but no written character. Many Boadjooos are settled on the north-west coast of *Borneo*, who not only fish, but make salt, and trade in small boats along the coast. They make salt in the following manner; they gather seaweeds, burn them, make a ley of ashes, filter it, and form a bitter kind of salt in square pieces, by boiling it in pans made of the bark of the *aneebong*, or cabbage-tree; these pieces of salt are carried to market, and pass as a currency for money. Those settled on the north-west coast of *Borneo* used to supply the English at *Balambangan* with rice, fowls, and other provisions. Many of them are settled at the mouth of the river of *Passir*, who employ themselves chiefly in catching small shrimps, with handnets, which they push through the mud; the shrimps, after being well washed in seawater, are exposed to a hot sun; they are then beat in a mortar, and made into a kind of paste, called *blatchong*, which has a strong smell, and is much in request all over India. These last Boadjooos may be called fixed, or stationary, compared with those who live always in their boats, and who, as the monsoon shifts on the islands *Borneo* and *Celebes*, shift their situation to leeward, so as to be always under the lee of the land, for the sake of fine weather. Most of those who rove round *Celebes*, though they change their situation with the monsoon, consider *Macassar* as their home. When Captain CARTERET lay at *Bontain*, a fleet of more than a hundred sail of their boats anchored there;

Cajelie lies upon the western shore of *Celebes*, towards the north, between *Mandbar Mamoadje*, and *Sinlensa*, which is the southernmost place belonging to the government of *Ternate*.

By the treaty of *Boni*, this country was

there; they were from twelve to eighteen, and twenty, tons burden, and carried from sixteen to twenty men: they were all under Dutch colours. The Boadjoo boats which Captain FORREST saw at the little *Paternoster* Islands, between *Borneo* and *Celebes*, were about five or six tons burden: several had women and children on board; and their women are said to be capable of managing their vessels, even in heavy seas: they lay at anchor, fishing for the swallow, or sea-slug, in seven or eight fathoms water. They see the swallow in clear water, and strike it as it lies on the ground, with an instrument, consisting of four bearded iron prongs, fixed along an almost cylindrical stone, rather smaller at one end than at the other, about eighteen inches long; an iron shot is fixed at the end of the stone, next the point of the prongs. The swallow is dried in the smoke, and sent to the China market. They also dive for it, the best being got in deep water. The black is reputed the best; but there is some of a lighter colour, found only in deep water, which is of more value in China than the black, and sold even for forty dollars a picol; the pieces are much larger than the general run of the black swallow, some of them weighing half a pound. The white is the worst, and is easily got in shoal water, and on the dry sand, among coral rocks, at low water: its value is about four or five dollars a picol. The Boadjos are very useful to the Dutch East-India Company, in carrying intelligence speedily from place to place. 7.

ceded

ceded to the king of *Ternate*; but the government at *Batavia* afterwards issued orders that it should be considered as belonging to the government of *Macassar*.

It used formerly to yield much cocoanut-oil, and to furnish as much of this article as was wanted by the Company; but since the year 1730, it has been so much ravaged, first by the internal dissensions between their own nobles, and afterwards by the Mandharese, that all the cocoanut-trees were felled for the purpose of making *bentings*: the land lies now almost uncultivated and desert, and is subject, for the greatest part, to the Mandharese.

The petty kings of this country requested the aid of the Company, several years ago, against the Mandharese; upon which some vessels and troops were sent thither; but they behaved so ill, that the natives sorely repented having ever had recourse to the Dutch for assistance.

From the report of the chief persons employed on that occasion, by the government of *Macassar*, it appears that the country was then very productive in *paddee*; as
likewise

likewise that it yielded much gold, and that in the neighbourhood of *Pavigi*, which is situated upon the gulph, or bay, of *Tominee*, gold is found by digging about four feet under the surface of the earth.

Toerongan is situated inland. This negree, or township, and eight others appertaining to it, bear the denomination of *Wauwo Woele*, or the *lesser mountains*. They were formerly all free, and dependent upon no one ; afterwards, and posterior to the conquest of *Samboupo*, six of them were admitted, at their earnest request, into the alliance of the Company ; and not long after, the people of *Touraayo*, situate behind *Goach*, at the foot of the mountains, and some others in that neighbourhood, were, equally, at their own desire, included in the treaty of *Boni*.

In time of war these places are of great importance ; but most of them are at present united with *Boni* ; as is the case with *Boele-boele*, and its appurtenances, which is situated in the bay of *Boni*, at and near the river of the same name. To the west, it has *Wauwo Woele* ; to the south, the river *Cassa* ; to the north, the river *Tanka* ; and

to

to the east, the shores of the bay. This country is likewise sometimes called *Tello-limpoe* ; it has three chief negrees, or townships, namely, *Boele-boele*, *Lamante*, and *Radja*, which are all independent of each other.

Before, and during, the war of 1667, these people were the faithful allies of the Macassers, who, by the treaty of *Boni*, gave up all claim to this country and its inhabitants. After that war, it was possessed by RADJA PALACCA, and it was governed by him in behalf of the Company, remaining one of their most obedient allies ; but after his death, it continued under the dominion of *Boni*, whose kings now look upon it as an appendage of their crown.

These are the principal matters relative to the kingdoms and states of *Celebes*, which I found particularly mentioned in the afore-said manuscript account.

I shall, in conclusion, say something of the more distant countries, which, though they do not peculiarly belong to *Celebes*, have much relation to the Company's government at *Macasser*.

Bouton is a pretty large island, lying east
of

of *Celebes*, of which I shall say more, in the account of my voyage from *Maccasser* to *Amboyna*.

The kings of this island have equally acceded to the treaty of *Boni*, though they have not constantly stuck to it; for in the year 1752, they suffered the Company's ship *Rust en Werk* (Rest and Work) to be plundered by pirates, for which the Boutonniers received a severe correction from the Company, in the year 1755; they then sought for aid from *Boni* and *Ternate*, but not succeeding in this, they began, by degrees, to incline towards peace, and shewed an inclination to keep their engagements with the Company, without, however, either renewing them, or paying the penalty which was imposed upon them by the Company, on account of the perfidiousness they had been guilty of.

The petty states which are situated on the opposite island of *Sumbawa*, viz. *Dima*, *Dampo*, *Tambora*, *Sangar*, *Papékat*, and *Sumbawa*, are independent of each other, but united together by a defensive alliance, as far as regards their possessions on the island *Sumbawa*. They are likewise all, separately,

separately, the allies, and under the protection, of the Company.

Bima lies at the east end of *Sumbawa*, about forty-five leagues south of the south-west point of *Celebes*, and the passage over can be effected, in a good vessel, the whole year round. It is a free state, under whose jurisdiction are comprehended, the Straits of *Sappi*, the whole of *Mangery* at the west point of the island of *Ende*, and the island *Goenong-api*, which last lies a little to the north of *Bima*.

The princes of *Bima*, *Dampo*, *Tambora*, *Sangar*, and *Papékat*, have, in general, observed their engagements with the Company pretty well; but those of *Sumbawa* have paid little attention to them, by the instigation of the Macassers and Wadjorese, who resort in great numbers to these islands, especially the latter, who are great merchants and adventurous navigators, and with their country-boats they keep the sea in a most surprizing manner; they are even said to go as far as the English settlement at *Bencoolen*, on the west coast of *Sumatra*. *

Passir

* Captain FORREST mentions to have seen fifteen prows, from *Celebes*, at a time, at *Bencoolen*, loaded with a mixed cargo of
of

Passir and *Coeti* are two little states, or seaports, situated on the east side of the island *Borneo*, and were anciently conquered by the Macassers *.

Their princes used formerly to visit these places alone, or only accompanied by their relatives, prohibiting their other subjects, or allies, from going thither. But these states were received into alliance with the Company in the year 1686.

In 1726, they were taken by the famous fugitive Wadjorese prince, and pirate, AROE SEENKANG, and have ever since paid an annual tribute to him †.

of spices, wax, cassia, sandalwood, dollars, and the cloths of *Celebes*, called cambays. T.

* FORREST informs us that *Passir* was a colony from *Wadje*, and that the Wadjorese equally formed settlements on *Sumbawa*, and at *Rbio*, in the Straits of *Malacca*. T.

† *Passir* seems now to be entirely freed from the influence of the Dutch, the tribute mentioned by the author, being ostensibly required for the protection of the freedom of the port; and in 1772, when the English East-India Company's ship, *Britannia*, was there, a factory was intended to be established, chiefly for the sale of opium, and Indostan piecegoods, and the purchase of the precious commodities, spices, gold, wax, &c. brought thither by the Buggueffes; this plan was only frustrated by a commotion taking place in the town, at which the English commander, rather needlessly, took the alarm, and quitted the country. *Passir* was then a place of
great

great trade; with two fathoms water on the muddy bar of a river that led up to the town, forty-five miles, the tide running a good way up above the town; this consisted of about 300 wooden houses on the north side of the river, most of them inhabited by Bugguefs merchants: the house and wooden fort of the sultan was on the south side, a very little way from the river. The *Britannia* lay about fifteen miles off the river's mouth, in six fathoms, muddy ground. T.

CHAPTER XII.

Account of Fort ROTTERDAM, and of the Lands of the Company around it.—Disputes with the Macassers about the Limits.—The Northern Provinces.—Occurrences relating to them.—MAROS.—SIANG.—LABACCAN.—SAGEREE.—Southern Provinces. — POELEMBANKEENG. — GALIS-SONG.—Islands on the Coast.—TANAKEKE, and the THREE BROTHERS.—BONTAIN.—Character of its Inhabitants.—Description of the Bay and Fort.—BOELECOMBA.—Productions.—Its Road and Fort. — BIRA.—Ship-building.—Description of their Proas.—The Inhabitants.

HAVING given an account of the principal matters relative to the allies of the Company, I shall next proceed to describe the Company's own lands, which belong to the government of *Macasser*.

Of the Company's possessions in *Celebes*, *Fort Rotterdam* is the chief. It lies in the kingdom of *Macasser*, and belonged formerly to the jurisdiction of *Tello*. It is on the west coast of *Celebes*, in the south latitude of $5^{\circ} 7'$, and is the head settlement of the
Com-

Company here. It is called *Oedjong Pandang* in the treaty of *Boni*, by which it was ceded to the Company, together with the district belonging to it. None of the contracts point out the exact distance to which the jurisdiction round the fort ought to be extended, on which account the Macassers endeavour to circumscribe it to the north within the exterior bounds of the town, or negree, of *Vlaardingen* and its suburbs; to the south, within the outward line of the campon *Baro*; and to the east, they define it to extend no farther than to *Bontualack*.

The difference in this, and in many other respects, between the Macassers and the Company, arises from the circumstance, that the treaty of *Boni* remained in full force after the conquest of *Samboupo*, or rather that it was never altered and amended, or at least explained, upon the change of affairs, although the Company have since been three times at war with the Macassers, and the issue has, every time, been such, that they had only to prescribe their conditions; yet this necessary emendation, it seems, has never been thought of.

The present jurisdiction of the Company,

as claimed and maintained by them, extends from *Sambong Java*, to what is called the *Kraal*; thence northward, along the salt marshes, behind *Bontualack*, as far as the river *Patinga Loang*, not far from *Oedjong Tana*.

The northern provinces include the lands of *Maros*, with the half of *Sodian*, and *Bar-ras*, or *Cabbe Siang*; *Labaccan*, with *Bongero* and *Sageree*, which are the plains lying between *Tello* and *Tanete*, the proper granaries of *Celebes*; then the places, which are situated between these plains and the mountains; and lastly, the mountain-villages, or negrees.

These lands, which border upon each other, have the sea, to the west; *Tanete* and *Maros*, to the north; *Lamoeroe*, to the east; and the kingdom of *Macasser*, to the south.

They were all conquered during the reign of the Macasser king, ALLAH OEDEEN, who reduced them to servitude, and divided them by villages and lots among the nobles of *Macasser*, who received from the inhabitants, as from their own property, the tenth of the produce, and the usual feudal services,
till

till October, 1668, when, upon the rupture with the Macassers, *Maros* was taken by the Company and their allies ; but it fell again into the hands of the enemy on the 20th of November ensuing ; however, upon the conquest of *Samboupo*, this province was also subdued by our people.

In the year 1736, or 1737, when the northern provinces were overrun by the rebel CRAIN BONTALANCAS, all of them, either voluntarily, or by force, abandoned the side of the Company, and took up arms against them ; but when *Maros* was retaken, in August, 1737, by Governor SMOUT, most of the chiefs returned to their former allegiance, while the others absconded, though they were afterwards pursued and taken, and underwent a well-merited punishment.

Those who returned to their duty, together with other chiefs newly appointed, were summoned, in January, 1738, to the fort, where those who were guilty, but had returned of themselves, received a pardon ; and all of them, LABACCAN excepted, abjured for ever the dominion of *Macasser*, and were accordingly again received as faithful subjects to the Company.

A junior

A junior merchant has the superintendence over all these provinces ; he resides in that of *Maros*, between the palisadoed fort called *Valkenburg*, and the negree, *Soeryjerang* ; the lands around the Company's *pagger*, or palisadoed fort, in the kingdom of *Tanete*, on the river *Pantjana*, are also under this resident. The number of negrees, or townships, over which the Company's jurisdiction, and the authority of the resident at *Maros*, extends, amounts to three hundred and seventy.

For the government of the inhabitants under the resident, *Maros* has, besides, five native regents, who are elected by the elders of the people, from the nearest relatives of such as have died, and are presented to the governor and council at *Macassar*, who confirm the election, with a reserve, nevertheless, for the approbation of the government at *Batavia*.

Siang has one regent, chosen from among the natives, who is called LOMA.

Labaccan has also one native regent, who has the appellation of CRAIN.

Sageree has five of these regents, the chief of whom is CRAIN MANGALONG.

The

The greatest part of the inhabitants of these plains, however, are Bouginese, who are very industrious in agriculture: these again have their own peculiar chiefs, who are appointed by the king of *Boni*; but they are, as well as the subjects of the Company, liable to the levy of the tenth part of the rice-harvest.

The other provinces, lying between these plains and the mountains, have likewise their own regents, appointed to rule over them in behalf of the Company, most of them under the title of *Crain*, with the adjection of the name of the negree, which is under their authority. These last furnish the timber and bamboos wanted for the Company's post at *Soeryjerang*, and logs for repairing the wooden pier at Fort *Rotterdam*.

Besides these regents, they have likewise, among themselves, several inferior chiefs, whom they call *galarangs*. They live quietly under their own laws, and in the enjoyment of their own religion; and perform the feudal services required of them by the Company, as their rightful lord paramount.

To the south of Fort *Rotterdam*, on the
west

west coast, the Company possess the small provinces of *Poelem Bankeeng* and *Galifsong*, being within the kingdom of *Macasser* proper, between the fishpools of *Aing*, and the river *Tjikoa*; but the little state of *Sandra-boni* lies in the middle. These plains were subdued by the Company, in the war of 1667.

The inhabitants of both these districts make good soldiers, and those of *Galifsong* are esteemed here the best seamen; when the Company want sailors at *Macasser*, they are obliged to serve without any other pay than their subsistence.

To the province of *Galifsong* belong the island *Tanakeke*, and the small islands called *the Three Brothers*, which, equally, by right of conquest, are the property of the Company, and the inhabitants of them, their subjects; as is the case with all the other islands which are scattered along the west coast of *Celebes*, from the point of *Tourattea* to *Tanete*. The Macassers have a colony of Touradjese upon the island *Great Barnang*; but many of these islands are uninhabited; some of them are inhabited by the subjects of the Company, and a few by Bouginese.

On

On the south coast, and on the east shore of the Bay of *Boni*, the Company possess the kingdoms of *Bontain*, *Boele Comba*, and *Bera*, together with their dependencies.

Bontain is bounded on the west by the river *Tino*, which divides it from the kingdom of *Tourattea*; on the north by the mountains, which bear its own name; on the east by the river *Kalekongang*; and on the south by the sea.

It was anciently considered among the dependent allies of *Macasser*, and was ruled by their kings; but it has twice been conquered by the arms of the Company and their allies, and was ceded to them, in property, by the treaty of *Boni*.

It is a very pleasant country, and is fertile in rice. There is a larger bay for ships and vessels of all descriptions, and the people of this land, and those of *Boele Comba* and *Bera* are the best natured, most peaceful, and tractable, of all the subjects which the Company have in the whole island of *Celebes* *.

This

* Captain CARTERET gives us several instances of the patient and unresenting temper of the inhabitants of *Bontain*, which

This kingdom was once given by the Company to RADJA PALACCA, as a reward for the great services rendered to them ; but, from default of male heirs, falling again to them, it was afterwards considered as a too

which occurred while he lay there. The bay he describes as a large one, where ships may lie in perfect safety during both the monsoons : the soundings are good and regular, and the bottom soft mud ; nor is there any danger in coming in, but a ledge of rocks, which are above water, and are a good mark for anchoring. The highest land in sight is called *Bontain-Hill* ; and when a ship is in the offing, at the distance of two or three miles from the land, she should bring this hill north, or N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. and then run in with it and anchor. In this bay there are several small towns ; that which is called *Bontain* lies in the northeast part of it, and here is a small palisadoed fort, on which eight guns are mounted, that carry a ball of about eight pounds weight : it is just sufficient to keep the country-people in subjection, and is intended for no other purpose : it lies on the south side of a small river, and there is water for a ship to come close to it. Wood and water are to be procured here in great plenty ; likewise plenty of fresh provisions, at a reasonable rate : the beef is excellent, but it would be difficult to procure enough of it for a squadron. Rice may be had in any quantity, so may fowls and fruit : there are also abundance of wild hogs in the woods, which may be purchased at a low price, as the natives, being mahomedans, never eat them ; and fish may be caught with the seine. The latitude of *Bontain-Hill* is $5^{\circ} 30'$ south. The tides are very irregular ; commonly it is but once high and once low water in four-and-twenty hours, and there is seldom six feet difference between them. T.

important

important possession ever to part with it again, without the most urgent necessity.

It is governed by two native regents, who bear the title of *Crain*; namely, one who rules over *Bontain*, and one over *Tompoboelé*, under whom there are several *galarangs*, or village-chiefs. All these, together with the serjeant who commands at the Company's *pagger*, or palisadoed fort, are under the authority of the resident, whose jurisdiction likewise extends over *Boelé Comba*, which was also anciently a separate kingdom, but was brought under the yoke of the Macassers in later times.

It stretches from the river *Kalekongang*, which divides it from *Bontain*, to *Bera*, or rather to the river *Banpang*, which runs between them; to the north of it, lie the mountains of *Kyndang*, which separate it from *Boni*, or rather from the highlanders of *Touraayo*; to the south, it is washed by the sea.

This province is likewise one of the conquests of the Company, and its inhabitants are, therefore, their subjects; and they have, together with those of *Bontain*, the same duties to fulfil, and enjoy the same privileges,

leges, as those who dwell in the Company's northern provinces.

Two head regents are, in like manner, appointed to rule over this district, namely, CRAIN GANTARANG and CRAIN OEDJONGLOWE, who have several *galarangs* under them.

The land is fertile in rice, and abounds in game and extensive forests; but the timber is not adapted to the construction of houses.

In the west monsoon, the road before *Boele Comba* is dangerous for ships; small vessels, however, can run into the river *Kalekongang*, at high water. At or near the mouth of this river, stands the Company's palisadoed fort *Carolina*, in which the resident, who is a junior merchant, has his abode.

To him is equally entrusted the superintendence over *Bera*, which province reaches from the river *Bampang*, eastward, along the seacoast, to the point of *Lassém* (called *Lassoa* in our charts), and thence northward to the point of *Cadjang*; on the land side, it borders upon *Boele Comba*, *Tourang*, and *Kadjang*, belonging to *Boele-boele*.

The whole of this country was ceded to the Company by the treaty of *Boni*. It is
barren

barren and rocky, and yields to its inhabitants nothing but *ocbee* * in the room of rice, or bread ; if they want *paddee*, they must have recourse to *Boele Comba*, or *Bima*. It has some woods, from which the inhabitants, and those of *Boele Comba*, obtain middling good timber for building proas ; the chief building yards of the Macassers were formerly at this place †.

* *Panicum corvi*.

† They build their proas, which they call *paduakans*, very tight, by dowling the planks together, as coopers do the parts that form the head of a cask, and putting the bark of a certain tree between, which swells, and then fit timbers to the planks, as at *Bombay* ; but do not rabbet, as it is called, the planks, as is done there. In Europe we build reversely ; we set up the timbers first, and fit the planks to them afterwards. They are bigotted to old models and fixtures in fitting their vessels : the largest never exceed fifty tons : they have their bow lowered, or cut down, in a very awkward manner, so as to be often under water ; a bulk head is raised a good way abaft the stem, to keep off the sea. They have a tripod mast, with a high pointed sail : the tripod mast is made of three stout bamboos ; two rising from the sides, and one from the fore part of the vessel, lashed together at the top : the two feet abreast are bored at the lower end across, with holes about three inches in diameter ; and these holes receive the two ends of a piece of timber, which goes across, like a main thast ; on these the two abreast parts of the tripod turn, as upon a hinge : the fore part of the mast is fixed forward, like a mainstay, to a knee amidships, with a forelock ; by unlocking the forelock, the mast is struck in a moment. *T.*

The

The men of *Bera* are, in general, good warriors, both at sea and at land ; the richest among them are merchants ; the others employ themselves in building of proas, and in manufacturing a sort of coarse, white, cloth, from the cotton which grows in tolerable abundance here ; a small annual tribute of these cloths is paid to the Company.

This country has ten regents, of whom the chief is *CRAIN BERA*. These come once a year to *Fort Rotterdam* to discharge their tribute.

CHAPTER XIII.

Account of the Island SALEYER.—Its Productions.—Government.—Character of the Inhabitants.—Islands of BONARATTE and CALAUWE.—Intricacy and Difficulty of the Government of MACASSER.—Contract, or Treaty, of BONI.—Mistaken Policy of the Company.—Declining State of their Authority.—Encroachments and clandestine Trade of the English.—Difficulty of preventing them.—Alarm excited at MACASSER by the Arrival of Captain CARTERET, in 1768.—Account of that Affair.—Bad Consequences of the Second never succeeding to the Governorship.—Emoluments of the Governor at MACASSER.—The other Servants of the Company.—The Company's Trade.—Private Trade.—Impossibility of preventing Smuggling.—Opinions of Governor MOSSEL on these Subjects.—Receipts and Charges of this Settlement.—Memorial of Mr. VAN PLEUREN on the Trade of the Company.—Establishment of MACASSER.—Malays.—Their Chief or Captain.—Trade of the Chinese to CELEBES.—Description of their Junk.—Departure from MACASSER.

THE island *Saley* lies nearly south of the point of *Lassé*, full two leagues; in the strait

strait between them, are the *Budjeroons*, called, by our seamen, the *Boesferoens*, which are three small, uninhabited islets.

There are several other islands which lie round and near *Saley*, and belong to it, of which, however, only two are inhabited, namely, *Bonaratte* and *Calauwe*.

The Macassers, who had possession of *Saley*, made a cession of it, by the treaty of *Boni*, to the king of *Ternate*; but it has since, in the lapse of time, and by slow degrees, been wrested from the *Ternatese*, by the Company.

Saley is very mountainous and woody, and there are many deer in its forests. It produces *ocbee* and *batta*; the last is a sort of millet, which constitutes a chief part of the food of its inhabitants. Much coarse, blue and white, striped, cloth, is made here of the *capas*, or cotton, which it likewise produces *.

This

* Captain FORREST, who was cast away, in the *Bonetta* ketch, on a small, desert, sandy, island, east of *Saley*, travelled across the latter in 1763, accompanied by the resident. They were carried by men up the very steep hills, that run along the middle of the island from north to south, on bamboo chairs,

This island is governed by fourteen regents, who resort once a year, in the month of October, to Fort *Rotterdam*, with two hundred and fifty, or three hundred, of their countrymen, to perform the customary duties of vassalage, and to set forth such disputes as they may have among themselves, in order to obtain a decision in them.

This people are pusillanimous and servile, and, at the same time, quarrelsome and perverse; inasmuch, that, if their situation be not exactly to their own liking, they immediately emigrate, with the whole of their family, to another country.

A junior merchant is placed here, as resident, in behalf of the Company, who has his abode near, or in, a palisadoed *pagger*, or redoubt, called *Defence*, which lies, as I was informed, in 5° 0' south latitude.

The beforementioned islands *Bonaratte* and *Calauwe* were given, in fief, to the old RADJA PALACCA. He made use of the

chairs, made on the spot; and they went over the flat lands on horseback. He computes the inhabitants of *Salayer* to amount to about sixty thousand. They drink much of a liquor called *saguire*, drawn from the palm-tree: they burn tallow from the tallow-tree, as in *China*. T.

first

first for a place of education and instruction for his dancing girls ; to which purpose his successors in the kingdom of *Boni* likewise appropriated it ; hence, these islands are mostly inhabited by Bouginese, and but very few Saleyers are found upon them.

From these short sketches and descriptions of the nations who inhabit the great island of *Celebes*, may easily be deduced the different relations, in which they stand towards each other, and towards their neighbours; both with respect to their internal policy, and their foreign connections; and hence may likewise be seen, how intricate and troublesome the office of governor of *Macassar* must be, in order to reconcile the jarring interest of all these numerous petty states with each other, and with the interest of his employers.

The contract, or treaty, of *Boni*, which has been so often mentioned in the preceding pages, was the foundation upon which the superstructure of the Company's power and influence in *Celebes* was erected more than a century ago. *Boni*, who first entered into this engagement, and whence it has always been called the contract of *Boni*, has, for that reason,

reason, been ever esteemed the first and oldest ally of the Company. It was, at that time, in danger of being subdued by the Macassers, and not possessing sufficient power to oppose so redoubted an enemy, it may, therefore, be easily conceived, that the Bouginese readily embraced the opportunity of entering into the strictest alliance with the Company, whose power was so great, and so renowned throughout India, that whoever were their allies, might divest themselves of all fear of being mastered. This was, in fact, apparent in the sequel. *Macasser* was subdued, and *Boni*, being thus freed from the fear of their hereditary adversaries, encreased, more and more, in greatness and lustre, more especially during the government of RADJA PALACCA. It became an adopted political maxim, that *Macasser* should be continually kept under; and this has been, till the present time, so strictly adhered to, that *Boni* has been rendered so great and powerful, that it is at present out of all question to prescribe rules or bounds to that kingdom, although the mistake is now most clearly perceivable: it even happens, from time to time, and every year,

year, that different portions of territory, which appertain to the Company by right of conquest, are suffered, by the negligence, or indulgence, of the governors, to be wrested from them by *Boni*, under some plausible pretext or other ; while these encroachments are, likewise, afterwards unaccountably ratified by the government at *Batavia*.

The present sovereign of *Boni* has brought it so far, that one of his grandsons has ascended the throne of the powerful kingdom of *Loeboe*, and which the Company have been obliged to wink at ; perhaps the danger to their interests, which lies in this vast encrease of the power and influence of the Bouginese monarch, has not been sufficiently insisted upon by their servants, or it may even be, that it has been represented in a favourable light.

Hereby, and by several other circumstances, the authority of the Company has so much declined in *Celebes*, that their possessions in the island may be considered as very inferior in importance to others. Little regard is now paid to the treaty of *Boni*, upon which every thing hinged heretofore. The king of *Boni* has even presumed to pre-
fer

fer a claim upon the campon *Baro*, close to the fort, because he resided for some time in it, when he had fled to the Company for protection against his sister *AROE PALACCA*. It is not impossible, that when this prince is dead, other darker clouds may arise ; for this is certain, that all the native princes are jealous of the footing which the Company have obtained upon the island, and envy them their possessions ; and, if they could but remain united among themselves, they would not let slip any opportunity of freeing themselves from their dependence, by expelling the Dutch from *Celebes*, or at least curtailing their power and influence. This it is what constitutes the most important, as well as the most difficult and delicate, part of the administration at *Macassar*, namely, to inspire the principal nations with jealousy and distrust of each other, at the same time preventing and avoiding, as much as possible, all actual hostilities and interference, in order not to be forced to join either one or the other.

The Company are not only menaced on this side, but their hereditary rivals in trade, the English, seek likewise to establish themselves

selves here, which they had nearly effected, about the river of *Sadraboni*, a few years ago. The Bouginese, Wadjorese, and Mandharese are much attached to them, and assist them in the purchase of spices from *Ceram* and other islands. Their new establishment at *Balambangang* gives them opportunities of connection with the merchants and other individuals of the different nations who resort to *Passir* and *Soeti*, or have settled there, and of drawing them over to their interests : and if they were to persevere in their endeavours, it would be very difficult to prevent them from obtaining a footing in *Celebes* ; especially upon considering what happened with respect to the little English sloop of war, the *Swallow*, in 1768, whose stay at *Macasser* I mentioned in my former voyage ; and though the circumstances attending it, were contradicted to me now that I was at *Macasser*, it was in such a manner, as rather confirmed my belief, in the credibility of Captain CARTERET ; if a little sloop of twelve guns, with a sick and exhausted crew, was enough to cause such an alarm, what would be the event if a greater

greater force were to appear in these seas *.

If

* When Captain CARTERET reached *Macasser*, from the South Seas, his ship's company were in a dying condition, and it was in order to procure refreshment for them, and shelter against the approaching bad monsoon, that he touched there. His arrival excited the greatest alarm, and all the sloops and vessels that were proper for war were fitted out with the utmost expedition. He, however, thought to have been an overmatch for their whole sea-force, had all his people been well; But they were so reduced, that, a boat having been dispatched on shore, the united strength of the remaining men, was not sufficient to weigh the anchor, though a small one, in order to proceed nearer to the town. As soon as it was known who he was, he was commanded, by a letter from the governor, "instantly to depart from the port, without coming any nearer to the town; and not to anchor on any part of the coast, or permit any of his people to land in any place that was under the governor's jurisdiction;" and notwithstanding all his remonstrances, and ocular demonstration of the emaciated and distressed state of the crew, the short and final answer of the deputies of the governor, who brought the letter, was, "that they had absolute and indispensable orders from their masters, not to suffer any ship, of whatever nation, to stay at that port, and that these orders they must implicitly obey." To this Captain CARTERET replied, that persons in their situation had nothing worse to fear than what they suffered, and that, therefore, if they did not immediately allow him the liberty of the port, to purchase refreshments, and procure shelter, he would, as soon as the wind would permit, in defiance of all their menaces, and all their force, go and anchor close to the town; that if, at last, he should find himself unable to compel them

If there be any government among the Company's possessions, that requires a chief, who is a man of knowledge, and of sound judgment, vigilant and zealous, in discovering every machination and design that are concerted in the surrounding kingdoms and provinces, it is that of *Macassar*. As these qualities are seldom found in such persons as are raised to the head of affairs from the desk, or other employments, which have no affinity with the art of government, it is evident that their administration cannot but be productive of the most prejudicial consequences; and, for my own part, I entertain no doubt that there have been governors sent thither from *Batavia*, who have never become acquainted with even the names of the greatest

them to comply with requisitions, the reasonableness of which could not be controverted, he would run the ship aground under their walls, and after selling their lives as dearly as they could, bring upon them the disgrace of having reduced a friend and ally, to so dreadful an extremity. It was not till after he had begun to put his threats in execution, by getting under sail, and proceeding towards the town, that a treaty was entered into with him, by which, after much altercation, he was permitted to go to the bay of *Buntain*, in order to procure the necessary supplies of provisions and water, to erect an hospital for his sick, and to find shelter from the bad monsoon, till the return of a fit season for sailing to the westward. T.

part

part of the nations with whom they had to deal, much less with the various and intricate connections subsisting between them and the Company.

I think it a radical defect in the management of the Company's affairs, that scarcely ever the second person, in any administration, succeeds to the office of chief governor, in the settlement to which he is attached. He must incontrovertibly possess more local knowledge, than one who only knows the place by name, and who has never assisted at the deliberations of the local council. Yet the mode which I condemn is so universally adopted, that it must even be furnished to be a maxim laid down by persons in high authority, the motives of which it is impossible to divine.

At the same time, the government of *Macassar* not being a very lucrative one, the governors seldom wish to remain long in it; and they do not, therefore, take much pains to dive deep into the knowledge of affairs, each thinking that it will last his time.

Besides what the Company allow the governor out of the profits upon trade, and the territorial

territorial revenues *, there are other private advantages, which help to make out his otherwise inconsiderable income. In the first place, the collection of the tenth of the produce of the earth, at which the governor is present, one year in the northern, and the other year in the southern provinces. Secondly, the yearly letting out to farm the duties on articles of consumption, for a preference in which two or three thousand piafters are generally given as a present. Thirdly, presents are likewise given to the governor when vacancies occur among the petty kings of the opposite islands by their successors, to procure his favour. In the fourth place, gifts are likewise offered by others, upon his coming to the government; as, for example, by those of *Bera*, who are obliged to present him with a new proa,

* The Dutch Company supply their eastern settlements with the cloths of Indostan at $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent advance on the prime cost; whatever they sell for more is the profit of their servants. Five per cent for commission and delcredere, on the sale of all articles, is divided between the governor and the second at *Macaffer*; the former has likewise an allowance of *f.*3000, about 275*l.* sterling per annum, to make good the expence he is at in entertaining the native princes and grandees. *T.*

made,

made, in respect to size and shape, according to prescribed rules, and such as, being sent to *Bima*; or *Sumbawa*, sometimes fetches fifteen hundred piasters. And others of less importance; the mode of obtaining which is not known to me.

The other head servants in the Company's employ, at this place, consists of the following officers :

The vice-governor, or second, who has the title and rank of senior merchant. The trade that is carried on here, chiefly relates to his department. He is, at the same time, commercial bookkeeper, and has an assistant, who writes the Company's ledger. As is customary in all the Company's settlements, the second in command is president of the council of justice, and of other boards. All his offices, however, put together, yield but little. Mr. VAN PLEUREN, who had filled this station for eight years, assured me more than once (and I have no reason to doubt what this worthy man told me in this respect, having heard it confirmed by several intelligent and uninterested persons), that taking one year with another, his income had not exceeded five hundred rixdollars, or
 twelve

twelve hundred guilders, per annum, for the whole time he had been the second at *Macasser*. This sum might, indeed, easily have been quadrupled by unlawful means ; as, by receiving presents, in the quality of president of the council of justice ; by giving undue preferences to Chinese merchants, or others, in the disposal of the Company's piecegoods ; by winking at monopolies in trade ; and by other evil means, which are sufficiently notorious.

The commander of the military is the third in order ; he has the title and rank of senior merchant.

Next follow the *shebandar*, or master of the port, and the fiscal, who are both merchants in rank.

The secretary of police and cashier, the *winkelier*, or purveyor, the resident of *Boelecombe* and *Bontain*, the resident of *Maros*, and the *soldy-boekhouder*, or paymaster, are junior merchants in title and in rank, and these, together with the preceding officers, form the council of polity.

The resident on the island of *Saley*, has the rank of bookkeeper, equally with the first interpreter in the *Macasser* and *Bouginese* languages ;

languages ; the latter was, at that time, thought a very good office ; he has two assistant interpreters under him.

To the military belong further, two lieutenants and six ensigns ; of which last, one is commandant at *Bima*.

The lieutenant of the artillery, is at the same time, *fabriek*, or inspector, of the fortifications and buildings, and may, in certain points, be here considered as engineer.

The equipment of, and controul over, the Company's vessels, which consist of ten or twelve *panchallangs* * and sloops, employed in cruising along the coast, in order to prevent smuggling, are vested in an inspector of equipment, who has the rank of sea-lieutenant.

The Company's trade here, consists chiefly in the sale of piecegoods, especially of coarse cloths, which are, therefore, prohibited to be imported by private traders. At the time of Governor MOSSEL, that is, in the beginning of his government, 1752, he calculated that the yearly amount of the piecegoods sent to *Celebes*, was one hundred

* Country-vessels, with one mast, and a large pointed sail. 7.

thousand gilders, upon which the profits were estimated at forty thousand ; but as the contraband trade with the English has greatly encreased since that time, and the orders from *Batavia* for cloths have not been properly executed, with other additional influencing circumstances, this vent and the consequent profits, are much curtailed.

“ It is so impossible,” says MOSSEL, in his *State of India* “ to prevent smuggling at “ *Macassar*, on account of the many creeks “ and inlets of *Celebes*, which afford opportunities for a contraband trade, that I hold “ it expedient and necessary, that all private “ trade from the spice-islands thither, cease “ and be prohibited.” This private trade, however, is continued as heretofore, at least to *Amboyna* and back.

This free or private trade, is chiefly carried on, from *Macassar* to *Amboyna* and *Batavia*, in rice, slaves, *tripangs*, and the cloths which are made there; from *Amboyna* back, specie is mostly brought ; and from *Batavia*, provisions and such piecogoods as are not prohibited.

The

The little that the Company draw from *Macasser* and its appurtenances, consists in sapanwood of *Bima* *, and some *cadjang*. A ship is, at present, sent thither every year, which carries a cargo from *Batavia*, in the month of March or April, and returns to the capital of India, by way of *Bima* and *Sumbawa*,

* In 1778, 580,000*lb.* Bima sapanwood was sold in Holland, at *f.*15 per 100*lb.* (equal to about 28*s.* per cwt.); and upon this article, the profit is supposed to be between fifty and sixty per cent; which, however, is scarcely more than enough to cover the charges of conveyance to Europe. In April, 1769, the king of *Siam*, whence the Dutch used to receive much sapanwood, but the trade to which country they had abandoned for some time, sent a letter to the government at *Batavia*, informing it that tranquillity was again restored there, and that *Siam* had recovered from the ravages of the *Avanese*; requesting, at the same time, that the Company would reestablish their factory, and that they would furnish him with 1000 musquets. To the first point, an answer was given, that the Company could not yet accede to his desire; and as to the second, they sent him 500 musquets, stipulating that their price should be paid in sapanwood, at *f.*3 per picol of 125*lb.* or, if need be, in wax, at the current rate of the day. The *Siam* sapanwood would thus stand the Company, with freight, &c. in 2½ rixdollars per picol, at the highest, or *f.* 4. 16. per 100*lb.* and the rate at which the *Macasser* sapanwood was sold, as abovementioned, was *f.*15 per 100*lb.* But it does not appear that this article has, since that time, been procured from *Siam*. T.

Governor

Governor MOSSEL was of opinion that this expence might be avoided, as the necessary supplies for the settlement at *Maccasser* might be sent by the ship for *Banda*, which calls there for rice, and the Bima sapanwood might be fetched away by the ship annually returning from *Ternate*; while the slaves, which the Company require, for their own service, from *Celebes*, might be dispatched to *Batavia* by the vessels employed in the private trade, for which a contract exists between the Company and the free merchants, but which is not now availed of; according to which, sixty rixdollars, or one hundred and forty guilders per head, is agreed to be paid by the Company, for the conveyance of slaves to *Batavia*.

That gentleman further calculated the clear receipts of the Company, at the time, at eighty thousand guilders; in which sum were included the excise and custom-duties, with the territorial revenues, which were taken at forty thousand guilders.

I cannot determine whether any diminution has taken place in the latter, since the year 1752; but the forty thousand guilders profits, which were then, made by the
Company

Company upon the trade in piecegoods, and upon opium, liquors, and other articles of importation, have undergone great alteration, to the disadvantage of the Company ; as at present *Celebes* is provided with the two first articles, in no inconsiderable quantities, by the contraband trade of the English ; and it is not without reason, that apprehensions are entertained that that enterprising nation will endeavour to prosecute it more and more, as they are now almost the sole masters of the trade in piecegoods from *Bengal*, and they seem to aim at establishing themselves likewise in the eastern parts of India. Yet the Company's charges do not decrease in the same proportion with their receipts : it is true, that by the good management of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, in the concerns committed to his care, the charges have been lowered, thirty-three thousand guilders, in the space of eight years ; and in the last year he reduced them even to three thousand guilders below the latest memorial of economy : but what can this avail, if we consider that by the above means, the profits have been reduced by one-half, and perhaps more, and that *Macaasser* is yet a
 losing

losing establishment to the amount of upwards of eighty thousand gilders a year; while it cannot be expected that all who succeed Mr. VAN PLEUREN in his office, shall equal him in integrity, and shall sacrifice their own interest to promote that of their employers *.

The memorial drawn up by the above-mentioned Mr. VAN PLEUREN, for the improvement of the Company's trade in *Celebes*, and the opposite islands, seemed to me to be a judicious and elaborate composition. The chief point, on which he insisted, was the prevention of the clandestine trade of the English, and the reduction, under the Company's influence, of *Salemparre*, a kingdom whose prince is attached to the English, and has always refused to become the ally of the Company; for he would thereby have obliged himself not to suffer any other nation to resort to his dominions, against which he most strenuously objected, alleging, that his country was open to all strangers,

* In 1779, the receipts of this government amounted to *f.*63,190, and the charges to *f.*163,137, leaving a deficiency of *f.*100,053, or about 9,100*l.* sterling. T.

who

who behaved with propriety, and regularly paid him his duties.

When the establishment is complete at *Macasser*, it should amount to eight hundred Europeans * ; but this number is not nearly complete, on account of the great mortality on board of the Company's outward-bound ships, by which means fewer men are brought to *Batavia* than are wanted, and they are considerably thinned by the unhealthiness of that place, and of *Bantam*, whereby not only *Macasser*, but likewise almost all of the Company's possessions, are in want of men.

Besides the Europeans, the Company have, in time of war, a great number of Malays in their service. These people, who have emigrated in the sixteenth century from *Johore*, *Patanee*, and other places on the Malay coasts, and have settled themselves here, dwell in a sort of town, separate from the Bouginese, which is called

* In 1776-1777, the establishment at *Macasser*, consisted of fifty-seven persons in civil, and three in ecclesiastical, employments, thirteen surgeons and assistants, twenty-seven belonging to the artillery ; 178 seamen and marines, 502 soldiers, and seventy-two mechanics ; in all 852 Europeans. T.

after

after them *Campon Maleyo*. They are under one captain, or chief, who is nominated by the Company. They have always been inseparably allied to the Company, and have rendered them very signal services, both by sea and land.

The Company have given the island *Tanakeke* to their captain, for his use. He came on board of my ship, with his brother, in order to accompany Mr. VAN PLEUREN as far as the point of *Tourattea*: he appeared to me to be a peculiarly friendly and open-hearted man, and they both possessed much sensibility; for when they took their last leave of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, the tears rolled down their cheeks: they told me aside, that they lost in him their best friend and benefactor. Indeed, I heard the same a few days before he went away from *Maccasser*, from many others, both Europeans and Indians, who sincerely lamented his departure, as that gentleman had made himself universally beloved, by his great affability, and his generous disposition.

The Company have, for many years, allowed a Chinese junk to come here, direct from *China*, every year, to bring thither the
goods

goods which are exported from that country, and which otherwise would be clandestinely introduced into the island, by that intriguing nation, whom it would be impossible to exclude; and the Company's customs are now benefited by it, as, if I am rightly informed, every junk pays three thousand Spanish dollars in duties. The passes for those vessels are granted by the government at *Batavia*, where they are obtained by the chief of the Chinese nation, who sends them over to the merchants in *China*, and for which it is said that he receives full eighteen thousand rixdollars *.

As soon as these goods are landed, every merchant, for there are several of them who come in such a junk, exposes his commodities for sale, in a large house, which is peculiarly adapted for that purpose. This house is the daily resort of a great number of people, particularly Macassers, Bouginese, and Wadjorese, so that the merchandize imported is speedily disposed of.

These merchants take in return *tripangs*, and Spanish dollars, both which render them

* About 3,900*l.* sterling. T.

good profit, in *China* ; and they are generally able to obtain forty thousand dollars, as the governor here, Mr. VAN DER VOORT, assured me *.

On

* Some judgment may be formed of the trade carried on by the Chinese to the eastern islands, from the following curious and interesting statement of the outward and return cargoes of a Chinese junk, from *China* to *Sooloo*, an island, or rather an archipelago of islands, north of the *Moluccas*, as given us by the intelligent Captain FORREST ;

“ Lift of articles that generally compose the cargo of a
“ Chinese junk, of which two come annually from *Amoy*
“ to *Sooloo* :

	Cost in <i>China</i> .	Selling price at <i>Sooloo</i> .
“ 2000 galangs (falvars of brafs)		
“ seven to a picol dollars	40	70
“ 100 picols iron, in small pieces,		
“ like Bengal iron	4	8
“ fugarcandy, a quantity, per		
“ picol	7	10
“ 50 raw silk, ditto	400	600
“ 3000 pieces black kowfongs, a kind		
“ of nankeen, per piece	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	
“ 5000 pieces kompow, white strong		
“ linen	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1
“ 500 kangans, twenty-five in a bun-		
“ dle, called gandangs, per		
“ gandang	7	10
“ 200 quallis, an iron thin pan, three		
“ feet diameter each	1	2
“ 500 nests of quallis, three in a nest	1	2
“ One		

On my former voyage, when I was at *Batavia*, I wanted very much to have seen the inside of a Chinese junk. These are called here *wankon*, and as there was one lying alongside of my ship in the road, I took the opportunity of gratifying my curiosity. As soon as I came on board, with the company that were with me, we were received with great politeness by the Chi-

	Cost in <i>Sooloo.</i>	Selling price at <i>China.</i>
" One million pieces chinaware, per		
" hundred	1	2
" 200 pieces of flowered silks	6	10
" besides tea, cutlery, and other hardware, brass wire, gongs,		
" beads of all colours, fireworks, &c. &c.		

" The returns are in the following articles :

	Cost in <i>Sooloo.</i>	Selling price at <i>China.</i>
" Black swallow, per picol . . . dollars	15	30
" white ditto	10	20
" wax	15	25
" teepye, or pearl oyster-shells	1½	5
" birds' nests, per cattì	6	9

" Also tortoiseshell, agal agal, a seaweed used as gum, or glue, and many other articles ; such as carooang-oil, clove-bark, black wood, ratans, sago, various barks for dying, cassia, pepper, native camphor, sandalwood, curious shells for grottos, pearls, seedpearl, and spices."

FORREST'S *Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, page 325. *T.*

the

nese chiefs, and tea, confectionery, and fruits, were set before us, previous to our taking a view of any thing. This vessel carried three masts, of which the largest and middlemost was nearly of the same thickness as the mainmast of my ship the *Ouwerkerk*, (a ship of one hundred and fifty feet in length), and it was made of one entire piece of timber. The length of the junk, from the exterior of the stern, to the extreme point of the head, was, according to my computation, one hundred and forty feet. The hull was separated into as many different divisions as there were merchants on board, each having a distinct place to stow his commodities in. The water was likewise distributed in several reservoirs, and being started in bulk, was drawn up by buckets, through hatches which opened in the deck. The furnace for cooking was by the larboard side of the mainmast upon the deck ; for these vessels have but one deck ; and we saw the victuals dressed there, in a much cleaner and neater manner, than is practised on board of European ships. At the stern were several tiers

tiers of little cabins, or huts, made of bamboos, as well for the officers of the vessel, as for the merchants. Exactly in the middle between these, was the steerage, and in the center of it, was a sort of chapel, in which their *joss*, or idol, was placed; they bring every year a new one with them from *China*, which is then placed in their temple, and the old one of the former year is taken away, and carried back to *China*; and they never begin to land any part of the cargo, until the image of this idol, which is made of gold, and is about four inches high, has been sent on shore out of the junk; both on board, and on shore, they continually burn lights and incense, and in the evening some silver paper, before the idol. The rudder is not attached to the vessel by pintles and googings, but it is hung in ropes, made of cane, and is very different in shape from those we use. Their anchors are crooked pieces of timber, to which heavy stones are tied, to make them sink. The whole of their tackling, both cordage and sails, is made of cane.

On the 15th of February my ship's company

pany were mustered by the fiscal and deputies from the council of justice of *Macasser*. Thirty-one hands belonging to the ship were left behind here in the hospital, most of whom were afflicted with bad ulcers on the legs, and had not been properly treated by the ship's surgeon, as the surgeon of the place gave us to understand; we received on board, in their room, seven-six other European failors.

The following day, at half past seven in morning, Mr. B. VAN PLEUREN, with his lady and two children, came on board, being, by appointment of the supreme Indian government, of the 7th of November, 1774, made governor of the province of *Amboyna*, after having had the chief administration as second of the government of *Macasser*.

The ceremonies which were observed on the occasion of his departure were as follows: at half past six o'clock the governor of *Macasser*, Mr. P. G. VAN DER VOORT, with all the members of the council of polity, those who were married being accompanied by their ladies, came to the house of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, in order to
conduct

conduct him to the pierhead, where he was to embark, the garrison being in the mean time under arms, and the drums beating a march: after having taken some refreshments, the former walked with Mrs. VAN PLEUREN, and the latter with Mrs. VAN DER VOORT, followed by all the members of the council, from the fort to the pier, where a boat lay ready to convey Mr. VAN PLEUREN, his lady, his children, and the deputies from the government, on board. As soon as the boat put off, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the fort, which was answered by the Company's bark, the *Moffel*, which was likewise destined to go to *Amboyna*, with nineteen, and by the other vessels, both those belonging to the Company, and those of private persons, with a lesser number.

When Mr. VAN PLEUREN and his company were on board, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired by the *Ouwerkerk*, and at the last gun, the flag was hoisted at the mast-head. We shortly afterwards weighed anchor, and steering between the reef of *Great Lyly* and the rock, we saluted the
fort

fort with one-and-twenty guns, and were answered with the same number : in half an hour afterwards, having got out to sea, the deputies from the government returned on shore, and we saluted them with nine guns.

CHAPTER XIV.

Passage to Amboyna.—Strait of TANAKEKE.—View of BONTAIN.—The Island SALEYER.—The BUDGEROONS.—Proposal for fortifying them.—View of the Islands CABYNE—PASSANGANE—BOUTON.—Account of the latter.—Contract of the King with the Dutch.—Extirpations of Spice-trees.—Dangerous Passage between BOUTON and the TOUCAN-BESSIS.—DWAAL, or MISTAKE-bay—View of the Island BOURO.—Account of it.—View of the Island AMBLAUW.—Of AMBOYNA, and six of the Islands belonging to it.—Strange Neglect with respect to Signal-flags.—Short Account of the Bay of AMBOYNA.—Anchorage in it.—Ceremonies upon the Arrival of the new Governor.

AT three o'clock, P.M. we were constrained, by contrary winds and currents, to come to an anchor, close to the island *Galissong*, where we lay that night.

The next day, being the 17th of February, we weighed anchor at daybreak, and set sail, steering along the coast of *Celebes*, for the passage of *Tanakeke*, which we reached at ten o'clock, and about eleven, we had
passed

passed the narrowest and most dangerous part of it.

The space between this island and that of *Celebes*, is, of itself, large enough, but the passage is narrowed, by more than one half of the distance over, by a reef which stretches out from *Tanakeke* towards *Celebes*, and by a funkèn rock, which lies about half a league s.w. from the point of *Sandraboni*. The depth in the passage is from twelve to ten fathoms. At sunset we had doubled the southwest extremity of *Celebes*.

At sunrise, on the following morning, we were abreast of *Bontain*, which is remarkable by its very high hills, being the termination of the range of mountains running through *Celebes* from north to south. At the same time we came in sight of the island *Saley*, and steered for the point of *Lassoa*, which is the southernmost land of *Celebes*. In the afternoon we saw the *Budgeroons* lying east of us.

These are three small islands, which lie nearly in a line, in the direction of n.w. and s.e. They almost entirely block up the passage between the southern part of *Celebes*, and the northern part of *Saley*, the whole
space

space between which is about a league and a half. The northernmost and southernmost of these islets lie, respectively, so close to the point of *Lafsoa*, and to the north end of *Saley*, that there is no passage for ships between them and the larger islands, and not even for small vessels, but attended with danger; they therefore pass this strait between the southernmost and middlemost, or between the latter and the northernmost, of the *Budgeroons*. Both these passages seemed to me, by the eye, to be about three-eighths of a league in breadth. The shores of the middlemost island are perfectly clear all round, and so very bold, that there is no soundings with a line of one hundred fathoms.

This is one of the most dangerous parts of the navigations for ships sailing to, or from, the *Moluccas*, or the spice-islands, and there is no avoiding it without going round to the south of *Saley*, which is a much more hazardous route, on account of the great number of shoals and sunken rocks which abound there, and are either not laid down, or placed extremely inaccurately, in the charts; though I know of a recent in-

stance

stance of a Company's ship, which was obliged to take that route, having been driven to leeward by the currents.

For this reason, I am surprized that the Company have not erected a few good batteries, provided with heavy artillery, upon the middlemost of the *Budgeroons*, in order to block up this passage to foreign vessels, which must sail close under this island, and would, therefore, be forced to run under the guns of the batteries, whilst they would have enough to do to work their sails, and would not be able to return the fire. The objection which might be made to this plan, namely, that this spot does not afford any thing for the subsistence of the men who might be placed there, and perhaps not even that most necessary of articles, fresh water, is easily obviated, for the Company's residencies of *Boelecomba* and *Saley*, could constantly provide those who were garrisoned here, with every thing they wanted; besides, many men would not be required, for there could be no danger of ever being obliged to resist the attack of an enemy upon the island; for it would be impossible for
a boat

a boat to land, if there were any battery upon it.

As soon as we had come within two cables' length of the middlemost island, in order to pass between it and the northernmost, we were encountered by a strong current setting with the utmost violence to the westward, so that we were obliged to assist the steering of the ship by manœuvring with the sails. The current ran with such force, that although we had a stiff gale nearly aft, and the ship seemed to advance upon the water, full five leagues, we made, in effect, little or no progress towards getting through the strait. In about half an hour, however, the current decreased, and at eight o'clock, P.M. we had cleared this dangerous passage, and steered for the island of *Cabyne*.

In the mean time, a small vessel, which had been dispatched by the resident of *Bontain* and *Boelecomba*, with refreshments for Mr. VAN PLEUREN, came alongside of us, while we were struggling with the force of the current; there was the greatest danger of its being stove to pieces against the ship's
side

sided by the violence of the rippling, and the Indians who were in it, cast off the rope, and we thereby lost one of our sailors, who had been ordered into the boat to assist in handing over the things they brought. As soon as the vessel fell astern she steered for *Saley*, and we very soon lost sight of her.

On the following morning at sunrise, we saw the island *Cabyne*, bearing E.N.E. and E. by N. eight or ten leagues: we were still likewise in sight of the coast of *Celebes*, and of the island *Saley*. We steered for the southern point of *Cabyne*; but we were prevented by calms from coming abreast of it, till the 21st of February, when we also got sight of the islands *Passangane* and *Bouton*, which form the straits of *Bouton*.

Bouton is a large, middling high, and woody island. It is a kingdom of itself, to which the neighbouring islands likewise belong. The king of *Bouton* is in alliance with the Company, who pay him a yearly sum of one hundred and fifty rixdollars in new Dutch coin, upon condition that he should not only permit the extirpation by the Company of all the clovetrees in this
and

and the neighbouring islands, but also assist them in effecting it. For this purpose, the Company annually send out a serjeant, who is styled the *extirpator*, and who goes through the woods in all the islands, and causes all the clovetrees which he meets with to be cut down. The king of *Bouton* is obliged to provide him guides and interpreters, as likewise with vessels, if he stand in need of them. But, as for several years, he has been very negligent in fulfilling his engagements, and has several times, upon various pretences, hindered the extirpator in his search after the spicetrees, the government in India have thought fit to withhold the abovementioned pecuniary allowance this year, in order to try, by that means, whether the fear of losing this annual revenue (for one hundred and fifty rixdollars, or three hundred and sixty gilders, * is really a considerable sum in the treasury of this prince) will not suffice to make him stick more closely to his contract, and be more active in assisting the Company to destroy this rich production in his country, for the benefit of *Amboyna* and *Banda*.

* 32*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* sterling. T.

By the calm weather which accompanied us from *Cabyne*, till we were without the *Toucan-bessis*, which is a distance that is commonly sailed over in one day, or in a day and a half, it was not till the 26th. of February that we could accomplish this part of the navigation. We had no violent currents, either for or against us, though we met with some, but they neither held any regular course, nor did the moon seem to have the least influence upon them.

The passage between the island *Bouton* and the *Toucan-bessis* is the second dangerous part of the navigation for ships going to the *Moluccas*, or spice-islands. The channel is, it is true, wider than that of the *Budgeroons*, for, by my calculation, it is about four leagues over, from the nearest part of *Bouton* to the westernmost of the *Toucan-bessis*, but the danger is of longer duration, by the numerous little islands which form the cluster called the *Toucan-bessis*, all of them either connected or surrounded by rocky shoals, over and between which very rapid currents set strongly to the eastward : a great and dangerous flat called the *Hoefyzer*, or *Horsehoe*, lies one and a half,

or

or two leagues south of them, upon which many vessels of the Company have been wrecked.

Along the shore of *Bouton*, there is, indeed, no danger to avoid but the land itself, but in the narrowest part of the passage begins a large bay, which runs into the land, west and north, into which there is much danger of being drawn by the currents which set into the bay, if the point opposite to the *Toucan-bessis* be approached too near in calm weather ; and if you have once fallen into the bay, there is no getting out till the west monsoon sets in again, and it may even be considered a fortunate circumstance to succeed in getting out then : some of the Company's ships that have been drifted in, have been five or six months before their repeated attempts to get out have succeeded ; and among other instances, when Mr. DE CLERK went as governor to *Banda*, he was detained a whole year in this vexatious gulph, before he could prosecute his voyage ; our navigators have, on this account, given it the appropriate name of *Dwaal*, or *Mistake-bay*.

The two principal of the *Toucan-bessis*
islands

islands lie, by the eye, about half a league N.N.E. and S.S.W. from each other ; I saw the northernmost, which is the highest, at the distance of nine leagues ; they are inhabited by a people who do not suffer any strangers, and especially no Europeans, among them.

On the evening of the 1st of March, at sunset, we discovered the island *Bouro*, bearing E.N.E. full thirteen or fourteen leagues off by computation.

This island is of an oval shape, the longest diameter of which extends east and west. Part of its northern coast is inhabited by a people who are subjects of the Company, and are governed by their *oran cayos*, who have each a *dap*, or deputy, under them. The interior parts, which consist of very high mountains, are the haunts of the *Alforese*, or wild mountaineers. The south coast is now deserted, on account of the continual invasions of the Papuas.

The Company have a small fortress in the bay of *Cagely*, at the northeast end of the island. A bookkeeper, who belongs to the establishment of *Amboyna*, is the chief there.

On

On the 4th of the same month we saw the island *Amblauw*, which lies about two leagues south from the east point of *Bouro*. It is but thinly inhabited. A corporal and four men were formerly stationed here to defend the inhabitants from the incursions of the Papuas *; but at present, there are no Europeans upon the island. It now belongs to the settlement of *Larike* upon the island of *Amboyna*, whereas it formerly was reckoned an appurtenance of *Bouro*.

On the 6th of March we weathered this island, and saw *Amboyna* at a distance, bearing E.N.E.

The next day, at sunrise, we were in sight of six islands belonging to the government of *Amboyna*, namely, *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Kelang*, *Manipa*, *Bouro*, and *Amblauw*; and,

* In March and April, the Papuas of *New Guinea* and the islands *Salwatty*, *Aroo*, and *Mysol*, are apt to assemble in great numbers; and make war on *Gilolo*, *Ceram*, *Amboyna*, *Bouro*, *Amblauw*, and as far as *Xulla-bessy*. About the year 1765, the Papuas plundered the island of *Amblauw*, and carried off many of the inhabitants. In 1770, upon an incursion of a number of the Papua boats, who sailed up the strait of *Patientia*, which divides *Bachian* from *Gilolo*, the Dutch took the Rajah of *Salwatty* prisoner, and he was sent into banishment to the *Cape of Good Hope*. T.

an hour afterwards, we likewise saw the island *Bonoa*; we steered for the point of *Alang*, which is the western extremity of *Amboyna*.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, we got sight of the ensign at the factory of *Larike*, situated on the west coast of *Hitoe*, which is the northern peninsula of *Amboyna*, and on approaching *Larike* to within half a league, we were saluted by the fort with thirteen guns, which we answered with five.

Hence we sailed, at the distance of a cable's length from the shore, to the point of *Alang*, where we saw the signal flag of recognizance for my ship flying, about five o'clock; this was red above, and white below; and, on the other hand, the signal flag which we should have hoisted in return, was to have been, agreeably to the sealed instructions given me at *Batavia*, one with three horizontal stripes, red, white, and red; but such a flag had been totally neglected to be put on board at *Batavia*: the like occurrence happened to me before, when I sailed to *Bengal*, in the year 1769. Of what use are signal flags of recogni-
zance,

zance, if one is unprepared to hoist the answering signal? A ship's captain can never himself take the necessary care to be prepared for them; for the letter of instructions, containing these secret-signals, is put into his hands sealed, with directions not to open it till in a certain latitude; as in *this instance*, I was not to open mine, till I had made the island *Bouro*.

Having got to about an eighth of a league from the point of *Alang*, the pilot of *Amboyna* came on board of us, with a written order from the governor of the province to pilot the ship into the bay.

This bay, which is formed by two large peninsulas, *Hitoe* and *Leytimor*, connected together, to the eastward, by a very narrow isthmus, called the *Pas of Baguwala*, and which constitute the island of *Amboyna*, is, at the entrance, between the points of *Alang* on *Hitoe* and *Nofanipe* on *Leytimor*, which lie east and west from each other, scarcely two marine leagues over, and it gradually narrows as it goes farther in. It is only in some parts of it that there is any anchoring-ground, and then it is at no more than one cable's length from the shore,

shore, in thirty and more fathoms water ; nearly the whole of the remainder is without soundings, not even with a line of one hundred fathoms : a constant current likewise sets into the bay on one side, and out again on the other : this makes it very difficult to enter, especially if you have not a leading wind : if you are becalmed, which is not unfrequently the case under the lee of high land, and get into the stream that runs out to sea, you are soon driven entirely out of the bay by it, and may be in danger of being drifted to leeward of the island, and thereby of losing the voyage entirely. The place where the ships anchor is close to the Leytimor shore, under the guns of Fort *Victoria*, in twenty-five fathoms ; it is three-fourths of a cable's length from the shore, and there is no ground a ship's length farther out.

We plied to and fro the whole of the following night, in order to work farther up the bay, the wind being N.E. and thus in our teeth.

On the morning of the 8th of March, at daybreak, we found ourselves about half a league from the point of *Alang*, so that we
had

had advanced but little. The small vessels, which are called *corrocorros* and *orembays* *, ten or twelve of which had come to our assistance in the night, to tow us in, had been of very little service ; for the slightest puff of wind moved the ship faster than they could row or paddle.

At noon we were at the *Laha*, which is a point that runs out from *Hitoe*, one Dutch mile from Fort *Victoria* : at two o'clock the deputies from the government at *Amboyna*, namely, the senior merchant, and second, *VILLENEUVE*, and the fiscal, *SCHILLING*, accompanied by the lady of the latter, and the lady of the captain commandant of the

* A *corrocorro* is a vessel fitted with outriggers, having an high-arched stem and stern, like the points of a half-moon. They are chiefly used by the inhabitants of the *Molucca* islands, and the Dutch have fleets of them at *Amboyna*, which they employ as guardacoftas. They have them from a very small size, to above ten tons burthen. On the cross-pieces, which support the outriggers, are often put, fore and aft, planks, on which the people sit and paddle, besides those who sit in the vessel on each gunnel. In smooth water they can be paddled very fast, as many hands may be employed in different ranks, or rows. They are steered with two commoodies (broad paddles) and not with a rudder. When they are high out of the water they use oars ; but on the outriggers they always use paddles. An *orembay* we conceive to be a small *corrocorro*, without outriggers. T.

military,

military, VAN DER BRINKE, came on board, in order to congratulate the governor upon his safe arrival thus far, and to conduct him and his lady on shore.

We soon afterwards had a fresh breeze from the N.W. which carried us at three o'clock to the road, where we dropt our anchor in twenty-five fathoms, sandy bottom. We saluted the fort with twenty-one guns, and were answered with the same number ; at four o'clock Mr. VAN PLEUREN went on shore, with his family and the deputies, in a country-boat, upon the mast of which a flag, with a pendant under it, was hoisted, and we again saluted with twenty-one guns.

As soon as his excellency landed, he was received upon the pier by the ex-governor, VAN DER V——, together with the other members of the council of polity, with their ladies, and passing through a double file of native burghers, or mardykers, who were drawn up before the gate of the fort, he went into it, and out again at the landgate, where the whole garrison stood under arms, and where likewise the Chinese stood ranged in order with their little flags, to the house of Governor

vernor VAN DER V ——. As soon as he was seated, the garrison fired three volleys, which was each time answered by a gun from the fort, as was also done upon the three volleys of the burghers, after which, a few more guns were fired from the fort, which concluded the ceremony of the day.

 BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

*Account of AMBOYNA.—Isthmus of BAGUEWALA.
 —Project for cutting through it.—Abandoned
 when half completed.—Description of the Bay of
 AMBOYNA.—Its natural Strength.—Difficulty of
 anchorage.—Road of Fort VICTORIA.—Currents
 setting in and out of the Bay.—Peninsulas of
 LEYTIMOR and HITOE.—Their Soil and Ap-
 pearance.*

THE province of *Amboyna*, which is the first in rank among the possessions of the Company in India, because it was the first which was subdued by their arms, comprises eleven islands, both great and small, or twelve, if the little island of *Molina* be taken into the account ; these are, *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Bouro*, *Amblauw*, *Manipa*, *Kelang*, *Bonoa*, *Ceram-laut*, *Noussa-laut*, *Honimoa*, or *Sapparoua*,

Sapparoua, and *Oma*, or *Harocha* ; the three last of which are likewise called the *Uliassers*.

As, however, VALENTYN has been very ample in his account of this province, for which he had the best opportunities, as he resided in it for several years, and, as his work is to be met with in most libraries *, I shall confine myself to some short remarks, and to some particulars which I thought worthy of observation, and committed to paper, while I was there.

According to my own observation, the middle of the island of *Amboyna* lies in $3^{\circ} 45'$ south latitude, and 145° east of *Feneriffe*. It consists of two peninsulas connected together by a narrow isthmus of about three hundred and sixty roods across, which is called the Pass of *Baguwala*, from a village, or negree, standing near it, upon the peninsula of *Hitoe*, over against the negree of *Hoetoemoeroe*, upon that of *Leytimor*, which are the names given to the two peninsulas constituting the island of *Amboyna*.

* The work here alluded to, is a description and history of the East-Indies, in Dutch, in five volumes folio, published at *Amsterdam* in 1724. T.

As the small vessels which go from the fort to the *Uliaffers*, must, on account of this pass, or isthmus, take a great circuit, or else be dragged over it, Mr. PADBRUGGE, the governor of this province, about the year 1683, formed a design of cutting through the isthmus entirely ; nature seemed, as it were, to have pointed out the propriety of doing this, by the branch of a little river, which runs out of *Hitoe*, and is called *Matta-passo*, or the *eye of the pass*, by the natives. The work was begun, from that place, to the eastward right across the isthmus, and it would soon have been crowned with complete success, had not two idle fancies have been the cause of its interruption : the first was, that an idea was started, that as soon as this cut should be effected, the currents would fall through it with such violence into the bay of *Amboyna*, that the *Kaaimanshoek*, or *Alligators Point*, which is a point of land, projecting far out from *Hitoe*, about the middle of the bay, would be washed away, and that ships would in consequence be no more able to come near the fort ; the other was, that the Amboynese, who were employed in the

work,

work, refused to proceed farther with it, because they made one another believe that in digging blood had been found to issue from the earth, which was an infallible sign of fatal consequences ; and, however ridiculous the latter might be, it was not, by any means, possible to get them to go on. The former objection was scarcely less absurd, as it appears undeniably, that the sea, eastward of the pass, is not at all more elevated than the water in the bay of *Amboyna*, as the intelligent engineer VON WAGNER, who has accurately surveyed both shores, has found, and assured me. There was thus not the least probability that the currents could have fallen through this opening, and have had the evil effect which was so groundlessly apprehended. This work of public utility, and of particular advantage to the Company, was therefore stopped, and no one has since thought of undertaking it anew ; although Mr. VON WAGNER has even told me, that he has frequently demonstrated how easy the cut could be completed, there being now no more than about ninety roods of land to cut through, yet always to no purpose.

The arm of the sea, which is now included

cluded between these two peninsulas, bears the appellation of the *Bay of Amboyna*. I do not believe that there is any harbour in the world which is naturally so strong as this. From the point of *Alang* to the *Pass of Baguewala* it is about five leagues, but from the point of *Noussanivel* to the same spot, scarcely three and a half leagues, deep : the breadth is unequal ; it is narrowest between the point of the *Laba* and the opposite *Galghoek* or *Gallows Point*, where it is about one Dutch mile over, and between the *Kaaimans*, or *Alligators Point*, and that which projects east of the land of little *Hativa*, where, at low water, by means of a rocky shoal on the *Leytimor*, and a sand on the *Hitoë*, side, the passage is so contracted, that adventurous persons have, more than once, crossed it on horseback, although the water between them is full eighty fathoms deep.

The direction of the bay, according to that in which the two peninsulas lie, which bend round and meet each other at the pass, is N.E. and S.W.

The point of *Alang*, or the west point,
on

on *Hitoe*, and that of *Nouffanivel*, corruptly called *Nofanipe* by our seamen, or the east point of the bay, lie about two leagues E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. and W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. from each other.

From the point of *Alang*, or past *Lillibooi*, to the point of the *Laha*, there is no anchoring-ground at all, except close to the rocks which border the whole length of the shore, and upon which, especially in the east monsoon, a tremendous high surf continually breaks ; but just past the point of the *Laba*, there is an inlet, or bay (*Laba* in the Amboynese language signifying a bay), in which a fleet of five-and-twenty ships can anchor in safety, particularly in the west monsoon, in twenty-five and thirty fathoms, good sand ground ; the anchorage is about a pistolshot from the shore, where, in case of necessity, ships may likewise be careened. This was the place where the Dutch fleet, under command of their admiral STEPHEN VAN DER HAGEN, lay at anchor, when, the day afterwards, they crossed the bay, and took the Portuguese fort.

From this inlet to the *Kaaimans* Point, there is again no anchorage, except upon the
edge

edge of the beforementioned sand, yet, in case of need, one might anchor near the pass, close to the *Matta-passo*.

On the opposite shore, along *Leytimor*, there is, withoutside the bay, about half a league beyond the point of *Noussanivel*, a reef of about one league in length, on which one may likewise cast anchor, in cases of necessity, when apprehensions are entertained of being driven past the bay by the currents, in twenty, eighteen, and fifteen fathoms, sand ground. This anchoring-place, which is of great importance to the ships bound to *Amboyna*, is not laid down in the Company's charts of these parts, perhaps intentionally; but it is inserted in that which is found in VALENTYN'S work: I also saw it pointed out in the last map which has been made of the bay of *Amboyna*. When I was at *Amboyna*, in the month of April, 1775, I saw a Chinese vessel lying at anchor upon it. Between the reef, however, and the land which forms the point of *Noussanivel*, the depth is again fathomless, and the shore is bold and rocky.

Past this point, on the inside of *Leytimor*, there is a bend, the deepest part of which

which affords good anchorage, in the east monsoon, but it is only quite close to the shore. This is called the Portuguese-bay, but I am ignorant why this name has been given to it.

Thence, till past the *Galgboek*, or *Gallows* Point, there is no tolerable anchorage; but you then come to the *Vrymans*, or *free merchants'*, road, which is just past that point, whence a small rocky reef projects out into the channel; you must be particularly careful not to anchor too near to the point, for worms are so abundant at and near it, that in less than a month's time, not only the sheathing, but likewise the planks of the vessel's bottom, are completely eat through,

Upon this follows the road of Fort *New Victoria*, but here the anchoring-ground is equally close in shore; for directly before the fort, and at one and a half cable's length off, there is no bottom with a line of seventy fathoms.

From this place to the point of little *Hativa* the shore is guarded by an uninterrupted range of sunken rocks, which prevent all approach, and from these to the
pass,

pass, there is likewise no rising bottom, except close to the shore. In the middle of the bay there are no soundings with a line of eighty, or one hundred fathoms.

The nature of this bay constitutes the strength of the island. It is only in a few parts of it that there is any anchorage, and then always quite close to the shore; and it would be a difficult matter for an enemy's fleet to enter it, and much more so to block it up. The *Laba* is the only place where ships can assemble, and this may be made so strong that all fear of its being availed of might be dismissed; this has, indeed, now been determined upon, as I shall have occasion to notice farther on.

No rocks, or sands, are to be met with in this bay, save those which have been mentioned, and which lie near the shore.

As there is nothing of this kind to avoid, the whole art, therefore, of sailing into, or out of, the bay, or of working into it, consists herein, namely, always to keep well in with the windward shore, and never to fall farther off from it than midchannel. The windward shore is *Hitoe*, in the good or west monsoon,

monsoon, and *Leytimor* in the bad or east monsoon.

The currents here are not regular ; neither has the moon any constant, or equal, influence upon the tides ; high and low water sometimes occur once, and sometimes twice, in four-and-twenty hours ; the difference is from six to nine feet : one or two days before the full moon, the water is found to rise the highest, and fall the lowest.

It is a natural consequence of this deep bay, although at *Amboyna* it is thought something very singular, that, when the current sets into it along *Hitoe*, it must run out, in an opposite direction, along *Leytimor*, and *vice versa* in the contrary case.

Both the peninsulas, as well *Leytimor* as *Hitoe*, are very mountainous : on the former, the summits of *Soya*, and on the latter, those of *Capaba*, tower above the rest ; they are almost entirely overgrown with trees and underwood, between which, at intervals, some clove-trees are planted and cultivated by the Amboynese. These mountains, like most others, are in general rocky,
and

and covered with a stratum of earth, the depth of which is very various ; in some places it is no more than three feet, or less, in others, it is twenty, or more, feet in depth ; the soil is mostly a reddish clay, and in the valleys, where there are no rocks, it is a little more blackish, and mixed with more particles of sand.

CHAPTER II.

Climate of AMBOYNA.—Monsoons.—Rivers.—Hills impregnated with Sulphur.—Soil.—Productions.—Plants.—Herbs.—Trees.—Cloves.—Extirpations of Clove-trees.—Custom of the Amboyneſe to plant a Clove-tree upon the birth of a Child.—Nutmegs.—Cultivation of Pepper and Indigo.—Sugar and Coffee might likewise be produced.

THIS, as well as all the other of the Company's poſſeſſions in the *Moluccas*, is ſituated in the torrid zone. During the three months which I ſpent at *Amboyne*, the medium height of a Fahrenheit's thermometer was between 80° and 82° ; the greateſt heat was 91° , and the ſevereſt cold 72° ; a difference which, in theſe parts, is ſo conſiderable, that if ſuch changes were to occur every day, it would, in my opinion, be exceedingly prejudicial to the conſtitution of the body: this is greatly occaſioned by the high mountains of *Soya*, at the foot of which Fort *New Victoria*, and the town of *Amboyne*

boyna are situated, whereby the rays of the sun are impeded from shining upon these places, till it has been three quarters of an hour above the horizon ; and on the other hand, at noon, when the sun is to the north of the line, as was the case during my abode there, and its rays strike against these mountains, which form, as it were, an amphitheatre, it cannot be, but that the heat must be greatly encreased by the reverberation ; at least, when I was at the *Laha*, which lies in a level plain on the opposite side, I did not perceive the excessive heat, which is felt at the fort.

The changes which occur, with respect to the weight of the atmosphere, are not so great ; during my stay of three months, they could scarcely be said to amount to two lines, or to one-sixth of an inch ; neither rain, wind, or fine weather, seemed to have any influence in this respect.

The monsoons are exactly the contrary here, to what they are along the islands of *Java*, *Borneo*, *Bali*, *Lomboc*, *Sumbawa*, the west coast of *Celebes*, &c. ; for when the southeast monsoon prevails at those places, it is accompanied by fine, dry, and pleasant weather,

weather, on which account this season is called the good monsoon : whereas it is then the bad season at *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Banda*, the east coast of *Celebes*, and in the countries and seas lying between them ; it then rains almost incessantly, accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, and sudden whirlwinds, to which I have frequently been witness at *Amboyna* ; but all this ceases, and turns to the finest weather, upon having passed the strait which separates *Saley* from *Celebes*.

Many rivers precipitate themselves into the bay of *Amboyna*, from the mountains, though they only deserve that appellation during the rainy, or bad, monsoon ; for in the good season they are mere rivulets, and many of them are nearly dry. I was witness to the remarkable difference occasioned in them by the time of the year ; for on my arrival, when the dry season was not over, the four rivers, which run into the sea, near the town and the adjacent villages, namely the *Way Tome*, the *Way Alla*, the *Way Nito*, and the *Bato Gadja*, or *Elephant's* river, were, at that time, no more than rivulets, in which there was scarcely two or three feet water, but
at

at my departure, the continual heavy rains had so swelled them, that they carried away in one night the strongest and largest bridges, thirty and more feet in length, that were thrown over them, or at least damaged them very considerably.

Minerals are not met with here, though some of the hills yield abundance of good brimstone, with which their whole surface is incrustated. There is one, in particular, on the peninsula of *Hitoe*, which is famous on that account, and is thence called *Wawani*, or *Brimstone-hill*. The hills likewise to the north of *Soeli* begin, as it is said, to yield sulphur.

A tough reddish clay is found in some parts, of which bricks are made, which are as good as those made in Holland.

Salutary plants and medicinal herbs are not wanting here; with which, I was told, many disorders and infirmities are cured. Amongst others the *boati* * is said to have
a singular

* The *Boa-ati*, which signifies *heart-fruit-tree*, because its fruit is in the shape of a heart, is called by the Ternatese *Soolamoo*, denoting a *panacea*, or *universal medicine*, being held as a sovereign remedy in almost all disorders by the Indians;
its

a singular antifebrile efficacy. Then there is the *cajeput*-tree *, from the leaves of which the hot and strong oil, called cajeput-oil, is distilled. The *sassafras*-tree †, the bark of which yields the costly *Coelilawang* ‡, and

its fruit is so extremely bitter, that it is generally called the *king of bitterness*; VALENTYN says, that, infused in brandy, or other spirits, it is good for colic, pleurisy, and other disorders; and that when used for an ague, four or five of the kernels are taken: it is also used with success as an antidote against poison, acting, in the first instance, as a strong emetic: THUNBERG says it is used pounded, in the colic, both by the Malays, and the Javanese. T.

* *Malaleuca leucadendra*. VALENTYN describes four different sorts of *cajeput*, or properly *cajoe poeteb*-trees, signifying *white-wood-trees*; it is from the *little cajoe-poeteb-tree*, that the oil in question is distilled; Dr. THUNBERG calls it a famous and excellent oil; when taken internally, it is a great sudorific, and five or six drops is the largest dose that is given; externally applied, it is excellent in all cases of stiffness, or palsy. T.

† *Laurus sassafras*, but a different species from the *sassafras*-tree of America. T.

‡ *Coelit-lawang* is the Amboynese name of the tree, and signifies clove-bark, and the English likewise call the bark by the same appellation of clove-bark; it is of a greyish cast, and when upon the tree is smooth, but when dried it becomes rough and furrowed; it is red within, and that taken from the bottom of the tree has a strong clove smell and taste, but higher up it is not so strong, and is more astringent; it is dried in the sun, and must be kept in an airy place; it is much
more

and its roots the fassafras-oil. Not to say any thing of the clove and nutmeg-trees, for which this island and the *Uliaffers* are famous.

The wood which is called *Amboyna*-wood, or properly *Lingoa*-wood *, is mostly produced

more esteemed than the *Maffoy*-bark, though its flavour and smell sooner decay. The very excellent and penetrating oil extracted from this bark, is almost as fine as oil of cloves, and possesses the same qualities: the Dutch Company reserved to themselves the extraction of *coelit-lawang* oil, and prohibited individuals from distilling it, upon a penalty of five hundred rixdollars. T.

* Of the *Lingoa*-wood VALENTYN describes three sorts, the red, the white, and the stone-hard *lingoa*. The red *lingoa* is a high and stately tree, with a thick trunk, smooth sappy branches, and long leaves of a bright green colour. Many limbs of the root appear above ground, and these afford the most beautiful pieces of timber. The wood of the tree is whitish immediately under the bark, but grows red towards the center, and is of so deep a tint, that it has by some been taken for red sandal-wood, though it is much coarser grained; it has a pleasant spicy smell, and is sometimes made up into small articles; but, together with the white *lingoa*, it is more generally used for rafters, and beams in houses, and for all kinds of carpentering. The white *lingoa* has a larger and longer leaf, the wood is of a much paler hue, and of a more open and coarser texture. The third sort, or stone-*lingoa*, has a smaller and rounder leaf, and is a much harder and closer-grained wood than either of the others: it is seldom met with but in the high mountains of *Ceram*; it is a very heavy wood,

and

duced in *Ceram*; as is the *Salmoni*-wood *, which is yet more beautiful, but is too scarce to be used for building, the timber for which is mostly brought from *Java*, though the *Jati*-wood † is likewise propagated here with tolerable success; but a sufficient quantity has not yet been reared, to supercede the necessity of a supply of timber from *Java*.

There are many other species of wood, besides the above, the half of which I am

and sinks like a stone in water. The *lingoa*-wood is susceptible of the highest polish, and its beautiful appearance, when manufactured, is described by VALENTYN in the most glowing colours. *T.*

* The *Salmoni*, or *Salemoeli*-tree, as VALENTYN calls it, affords a most beautiful wood; it resembles walnut tree-wood in colour, but is veined and variegated in a much handsomer manner; the planks obtained from it are seldom more than one foot and a half in breadth, though sometimes some are got of two, and two and a half, feet broad, and four feet long. It is also called *bastard-ebony*. *T.*

† The *jati*, or *teak*-tree, as it is called in the western parts of India, has its first name from a Javanese word, signifying *durable*. It is the pride of the eastern woods, and one of the highest and largest trees of the forest. There are two sorts, which, by the timber they yield, are distinguished by the names of male and female; the former is the darkest in hue, and very veiny; it is easier to be wrought than the latter, which is paler and less veiny. *T.*

entirely

entirely unacquainted with ; they are amply described by VALENTYN.*

* “ A conception may be formed,” says VALENTYN, “ of the great plenty of timber-trees of all kinds at *Amboyna*, for the construction of ships and houses, and for the finest and most costly articles of furniture, from the circumstance that Mr. RUMPHIUS (author of the *Hortus Amboinensis*) had procured a little cabinet to be made, which was inlaid with nearly four hundred sorts of only the choicest and hand-somest woods, and which, together with other curiosities, that gentlemen sent as a present, in the year 1682, to the great Duke of *Tuscany*, Cosmo the Third. If then there are so many sorts of fine and choice woods fit for veneering, how many must not the common sorts be !” He particularly describes a great number, among which are several different species of the ebony-tree ; the iron-tree ; the casuarina ; the wild clove-tree ; the *samama* tree, which is a bastard sort of teak ; the *nani*-tree, which yields a timber that is almost imperishable ; the Chinese use it for anchors and rudders ; it withstands all weathers, and yields but slowly to the powerful agency of fire ; it is, however, on account of its hardness, very difficult to be wrought : the *cajoc-languit-tree*, which has received the proud title of the *tree of heaven*, or of *the firmament*, as it seems to lift its lofty and spreading summit to the clouds ; &c. At the conclusion of his account of the trees of *Amboyna*, he assures the reader, that the most laborious exertion of a long life would not suffice to become acquainted with all the trees which grow on the lofty and woody mountains, the extensive and impenetrable forests, of *Amboyna*, and that the vast number which he has noticed, sixty-two of which he gives representations of, are but a small portion of the whole. T.

Of

Of the products of the country, considered as articles of trade, the first rank is occupied by its staple commodity, cloves. The tree * on which they grow, is too well, and

* *Caryophyllus*. The clove is produced on a very handsome tree, somewhat resembling a large pear-tree; its stem is straight, and at the distance of five feet from the ground its branches begin; the bark is thin and smooth, and adheres closely to the wood; the wood is heavy and hard; the leaves stand two and two opposite, they are about a handbreadth in length, and two inches broad, pointed, ribbed and reddish on the upper, but smooth and of a bright green colour on the under side, they have a very aromatic smell when bruised between the fingers. When a tree is nine years old, and has been well attended to, it begins to yield cloves; they appear in the beginning of the rainy season; they are then little dark-green longish buds, and become perfect cloves in shape in the month of August, or September; they then turn yellow, and afterwards red, which is the time for gathering them; if they are suffered to remain three or four weeks longer, they swell and become what are called mother-cloves, which are proper for propagation, or for candying, but not for drying as a spice. The cloves grow on separate stalks, but in bunches of three or more together. VALENTYN describes four sorts: that which he calls the male clove, is the sort used for drying; the female produces cloves of a pale colour, which are the best for extracting of oil; the king's clove is a very scarce species, bearing larger and double cloves; he mentions one tree of this kind that stood in the island *Machian*, and a few others that were discovered in 1668, and 1682, in *Hative* and in *Hitoe*: the fourth sort are called rice-cloves;

and too minutely described by VALENTYN, than that I should be required to do it here.

Two large crops of cloves never succeed each other ; if the crop be one year very large, that of the next year will be small ; the first generally takes place in uncommon dry seasons ; and epidemical fevers are then very prevalent.

When the cloves are almost ripe, they must be soon gathered, or they shoot out in a few days, into mother-cloves. The cloves which are dried over the fire, instead of in the sun, are not good ; these may be distinguished by their colour, being more inclining to black, and that they bend be-

cloves ; they are very small, but likewise very rare : the clove produced upon the wild clove-tree, has no kind of spicyness. At the time of gathering the cloves, the ground is carefully swept under the trees, that none may be lost ; they are generally pulled off by long hooks. The usual time of the clove-crop is in October, and it lasts till December. The oil of cloves is well known in the *Materia Medica* ; an hundred weight of cloves used to be employed in former times to procure a quart of oil, but that quantity is now drawn from forty pounds, though it is in consequence not so powerful : the extraction of the oil is strictly prohibited by the Dutch Company to all individuals. T.

tween

tween the fingers ; while those which are properly dried, are, on the contrary, not flexible, but brittle, and snap asunder upon being filliped with the finger ; they are also of a reddish cast.

The crop of cloves depends much upon the temperature of the weather, in the months of June and September. An after-crop is sometimes made, but the time is uncertain, and it does not often happen.

Although this spice is not an indigenous production of *Amboyna*, but a native of the *Molucca* islands proper, whence it was brought hither some centuries ago *, it prospers exceedingly

* A short time before the coming of the Portuguese in *Amboyna*, the Cerammers of *Cambello* secretly brought some mother-cloves in hollow bamboos from *Machian*, whence they were propagated all over *Ceram*, *Amboyna*, and the neighbouring islands, and in the space of fifty or sixty years the whole of *Hezoamoehil* was covered with them. This was told to the Dutch when they first came to *Cambello*, and some of the trees first planted were shewn to them, behind the hill of *Maffili* ; the memory of it is likewise preserved in the traditional songs of the Amboynefe. The brave and enterprising inhabitants of *Cambello*, were rewarded for the openness with which they shewed the Dutch their treasures, by the destruction of all their clove-trees, and the deprivation of the fruits of their industry, and exertion ; the implacable enmity

ceedingly well here, and especially upon the islands of *Honimoa*, *Oma*, and *Nouffa-laut*, commonly called the *Uliassers*, which, together with *Amboyna*, are the only spots where the Company allow it to be cultivated *, and they constantly cause it to be destroyed in every other place within their

enmity which they in consequence entertained for the Dutch, and their repeated attacks upon the forts, their enemies established in their country, have been stigmatized by the Dutch writers, as a base and wicked spirit of disobedience, and an *unjust* and cruel lust of blood and warfare; “ so that,” says VALENTYN, “ it would have been better, if, instead of extirpating their trees alone, we had, at the same time, exterminated this revengeful and sanguinary nation.” T.

* I believe too, that whatever pains foreign nations may take to propagate these spice-trees in other places, they will never succeed, except in the neighbourhood of the *Moluccas*, unless in similar countries, situated in the same latitudes, which, like these, heated by subterraneous fires, afford, by the action of this natural laboratory, sufficient heat to the spice-trees, to give their fruit their strong pungent and aromatic flavour. S.

The clove-tree has, however, been successfully introduced in the West-India islands, and though the quantities hitherto brought from them, have been very insignificant, yet their constant increase suffices to shew, that the culture is in an improving state; in 1797, 350*lbs.* were imported to London from *Martinico*, and in the present year 200*lbs.* from that island, and 2,981*lbs.* from *St. Kitts*. T.

reach,

reach, especially on little *Ceram*, or *Hoewamoehil* * ; exclusive of the extirpations which take place, from time to time, in the spice-islands themselves, in order to moderate the great abundance of the article, with which their warehouses overflow, both at *Batavia* and in *Holland*.

Thus, the supreme Indian government ordered by their letter, of the 26th of December, 1769, that the number of clove-trees should not be allowed to exceed five hundred thousand †, and it was further ordered, in the year 1773, that fifty thousand more should be destroyed, so that at present (1775), after three extirpations, the number of clove-trees, as near as could

* *Hoewamoehil* is a peninsula joined to *Ceram* by an isthmus, called the Pass of *Tanoeno*; it was not only very fertile in clove-trees, but produced likewise large quantities of nutmeg-trees; of these last, what was called *the great nutmeg-tree forest*, was destroyed in 1667, and in another place 3,300 nutmeg-trees. *T.*

† One hundred and twenty-five clove-trees are allowed to a plantation, or *douffon* as it is called by the Amboynese, and of these there are 4000, which makes the number of 500,000 trees. *T.*

be

be ascertained, amounts to 513,268; where-
of

320,491 fruit-bearing trees
104,866 half-grown
87,911 young plants

513,268

besides 22,310 *tatanamangs*, which are trees that are not comprehended in the clove-plantations, but stand interspersed here and there, near the houses. Every Amboynefe plants such a clove-tree when a child is born to him, in order, by a rough calculation, to know their age. Although they do not oppose the extirpation of the clove-trees in the plantations, when the Company think it fit, yet to touch their *tatanamangs* would speedily be the cause of a general insurrection among them: this was manifest on the occasion of one of the last extirpations, when the extirpators, ignorantly, at least as they pretended, cut down some *tatanamangs*. The whole country was immediately up; and had not the then governor, VAN DER V——, speedily provided against it, they would have destroyed all the other clove-trees, set fire to their habitations, and flying

to the mountains, they would thus have withdrawn themselves from their obedience to the Company.

I have been assured that a clove-tree will continue to bear fruit for the space of eighty years*.

Besides the clove, nutmeg-trees likewise grow here with tolerable luxuriance; but they are all destroyed, by the orders of the government, whenever they are found†.

In

* VALENTYN mentions a clove-tree upon *Hoerwamoebil*, that was known to be one hundred and thirty years old, and to have yielded in one season two bhars, or 1,100 lb. of cloves. *T.*

† As we had no opportunity, in the short account given of the islands of *Banda* in the first volume, to describe the nutmeg-tree, it may be well to introduce an account of it here. The *myristica moschata*, or true nutmeg, is a handsome and spreading tree; the bark is smooth, and of a brownish-grey colour; the leaves are elliptical, pointed, obliquely nerved; on the upper side of a bright green, on the under, whitish, and stand alternately upon footstalks; they afford a most grateful aromatic scent when bruised. If a branch of the tree be broken off, a sap runs out of it, which is of great prejudice to the tree; and it never thrives well afterwards. It does not bear fruit till its eighth or ninth year. When it begins to produce fruit, little yellowish buds make their appearance, out of which small white flowers are blown, hanging two or three together, upon slender peduncles; in the center of the flower is an oblong reddish knob, from which the fruit is produced, though no more than one
blossom

In proportion, as the clove-trees were more and more eradicated, the government
at

blossom out of three commonly ripens to a nutmeg. The fruit is eight or nine months arriving at maturity; but blossoms and ripe fruit are found at the same time upon the same tree, and the nutmegs are generally gathered three times in a year. The fruit appears like a small peach, both in shape and in colour, only it is pointed towards the stalk; when it is ripe, the outer coat, which is almost half an inch thick, opens and shews the nutmeg, in its black and shining shell, encircled by a network of scarlet mace; the outer coat is generally whitish, a little hard, and is very good preserved in sugar, or stewed; you then come to the mace, which is of a fine bright red colour, and under it a black shell, about as thick as that of a filbert, but very hard; it is opened by being first dried successively in five different *petaks*, or drying-places, made of split bamboos, upon which the nutmegs are laid, and placed over a slow fire; in each of these *petaks* they remain a week, till the nutmegs are heard to shake within the shell, which is then easily broken; the nutmegs are then sorted and delivered to the Company; each sort is then separately put in baskets, and soaked three times in tubs with sea-water, much impregnated with lime; they are then put into distinct closets, where they are left for six weeks, to sweat; this is done that the lime, by closing the pores of the nuts, may prevent their strength from evaporating, and likewise because such a prepared nutmeg is not fit for propagation. Some trees afford longer, and some rounder, nutmegs, but which are of the same quality; the long ones are called male nutmegs; but there are likewise wild male nutmegs, which have little flavour, and are not valued. The Bandanese enumerate several sorts of nutmegs, but they appear only varieties in the fruit of the same tree. The *myristica fatua*, or wild nutmeg, grows in all the Eastern islands; it seems to have been
this

at *Batavia* began to think on the means of giving the Amboynese an equivalent for the diminution of that production, as the crop of cloves brought but little money into circulation, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of which I shall say more hereafter. For that purpose, his excellency, governor MOSSEL, proposed, in his *Secret Considerations on the State of India*; offered to the gentlemen in authority at home, under the head of *Amboyna*, to encourage the cultivation of pepper and indigo there, as much as possible, in order to furnish a better means of subsistence to the natives; but the little inclination which the rulers of *Amboyna* have shewn to comply with this proposal, and the little attention they have bestowed upon the subject, or, as they allege in their own exculpation, the indolence of the Amboynese, have almost wholly frustrated the attempts which have been made in this line.

The

this sort that FORREST obtained at *Dory* harbour in *New Guinea*, and planted on the island of *Burwood*; it is produced likewise in the *West-Indies*, at the island of *Tobago*. An essential oil is extracted both from nutmegs and from mace; it is reckoned that three *catti* of *Banda*, making about seventeen pounds and a quarter, Amsterdam weight, yield about a quart of oil. T.

The indigo that is produced upon *Leyti-mor* is thought to be much better than that of *Buro*; a pound of the former stands the company in six guilders*; but it is very little inferior in point of brilliancy of tint to Prussian blue.

The government then adopted the mode of taking it by contract, promising to pay forty-eight stivers for the first, thirty-six for the second, and twenty-four for the third or worst sort†; but neither did this succeed, while its failure is equally attributed to the laziness of the natives.

The following quantities were delivered to the company, in 1748, and 1749, according to the report of Governor ROOZEBOOM;

	from <i>Hila</i> .		from <i>Bouro</i> .
1748 .	185 lb.	————	281 lb.
1749 .	200 lb.	————	225½ lb.
	————		————
	385 lb.		506½ lb.
			385
			————

In all 891½ lb.

* About 11s. sterling. T.

† About 4s. 4d. for the first, 3s. 3d. for the second, and 2s. 2d. for the third sort. T.

The cultivation of pepper in *Bouro* succeeded no better, though the pepper-vine, it is said, grows very well there, and produces a large corn ; but which is not of so hard a substance, nor so strong a flavour, as that of *Bantam*, or the *Malabar* coast.

I am much surprized that the government has not hitherto taken any pains to prosecute the cultivation of the sugar-cane in the islands of *Amboyna*, for it grows as luxuriantly, and as full of sap here, as in *Java*, or any where else ; which I know, by having frequently seen and examined the canes which have been planted here and there by the slaves for their own use. This would not only alleviate the poverty of the Amboynese, as their clove-trees are destroyed from year to year, but it would, on the other hand, be no less profitable to the Company, as the article would be conveyed hence, without any additional expence, by the clove-ships, on board of which it could be stowed as a lower tier, and serve for ballast. Perhaps, however, this has never been put in practice, in order that the competition of the sugars from *Amboyna* might not be of prejudice to the sugar-works of *Jaccatra*, in
which

which perhaps the gentlemen in the direction of affairs are interested.

Coffee likewise grows here in sufficient luxuriance to encourage the Amboynefe in the cultivation of it; and the quality of *it* is, by no means, inferior to that of *Java*.

CHAPTER III.

Description of the Sago-tree, and of the Manner in which the Sago is prepared.—The Ela.—Sago-bread.—Gebbe-gabba.—Aiap.—Sago-woods of the Company.—Fruits.—The Sagwire-tree, and the Liquor drawn from it.—Animals.—Dæer.—Wild Hogs.—Babi-roussa, or Hog-deer.—Fishes.—Wonderful Stories of the Amboynese.—A Fish called Jacob Evertsen.—Reptiles.—Snakes.—Domestic Animals.

THOUGH the clove-tree yields the richest production of this island, the *Sago-tree* is of much greater utility to the Amboynese.

This production, which a wise Providence has bestowed as an universal article of food upon the inhabitants of *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, and the surrounding islands east of *Celebes*, (for on *Celebes* it grows not *, though it is again found in *Borneo*, where on the contrary, rice, as a primary article of food, is wanting) propagates itself by offsets, or shoots, which for a long time appear only

* Other travellers inform us that the sago likewise grows on *Celebes*, especially, and in much abundance, at the bottom of *Buggess-bay*. T.

like bushes *, and which all proceed from the roots, or from the bottom of the trunk of a full-grown tree.

I shall not set down all that appeared to me worthy of observation, on the subject of this tree, as VALENTYN, in his description of the trees and plants of *Ambogna*, is ample in his account of it ; but I shall only make mention of what he has not noticed.

The stem, when it begins to form itself out of the bush, shoots up, as straight as an arrow, to the height of between forty and sixty feet, without any lateral branches, just like the *firi*, and cocoa-nut-trees, to which genus it likewise belongs, forming a handsome crown at the top, which affords an agreeable shade.

A grove of these trees, with their erected stems, which, when arrived at maturity, consist of nothing but a spongy and mealy substance, surrounded by a hard bark, of about half an inch thick, and their beautiful leafy crowns, have a very charming appearance, and form a pleasant and cool retreat.

* Yet these bushes are about fifteen or sixteen feet in height. *T.*

This white, spongy, and mealy substance is the fago, which serves the natives in lieu of bread *.

As the manner in which I have seen the fago *poekeled*, or made into meal, differs in some respects from that which VALENTYN relates, I shall here shortly particularize it.

A tree is first made choice of, the pith of which it is certain has attained its full maturity, and this is perceived by its beginning to be of a yellowish-white cast just under the foliage †. The stem is then cut through as close to the ground as possible, in order to lose the less of the farinaceous contents,

* The fago-tree does not produce any fruit, till it has lost its strength, and is about to die, when the branches likewise appear covered with meal; it then produces at the top, a bunch of small fruit, like pigeon's eggs, which are first green, and afterwards yellow; the kernel is very astringent. It delights in wet and morassy situations, and will not grow except in low grounds. It does not live above thirty years. T.

† They likewise sometimes try it by chopping a hole in the tree, out of which they take some of the pith to examine whether it be ripe enough; if not, they close the hole again, but else they immediately fell the tree, as if suffered to remain too long, and till it produces fruit, they know that the pith will turn entirely into green filaments, and yield no fago. T.

When

When the tree is thus felled, it is cut through in the middle of its length, into two or more pieces, and the hard bark of each piece is split afunder by the insertion of wedges; the fago then appears uncovered, just like the spongy substance in our elder-trees. They then make a certain instrument, resembling an adze, out of one of the branches of the tree they have felled, with which they loosen the fago all round from the bark, and reduce it to the appearance of sawdust.

The whole tree being thus *poeked* out, the raw fago is put, by portions, into a trough, like a canoe, and water is poured upon it, and well mixed with the fago, by which means the meal is separated from the filaments.

These filaments, which might be denominated the bran of the fago, are called *ela*, and are made use of to feed hogs, poultry, &c.

The water, thus impregnated with the fago-meal, having stood still for some time, the meal subsides, by its own weight, to the bottom, the water is then poured off, and it is a second time purified in the same manner;

ner ; after this, the wet meal is laid upon flat wicker-baskets, to dry, and it is then kneaded together, and into little cakes of three inches long, two inches broad, and half an inch thick ; finally, it is put into moulds of the same size and shape, and baked over the fire, till it is done enough, and becomes dry and hard. *

The taste of the fago-bread does not much vary from that of the *Cassava*, or *Manioc*, of the West-Indies ; but it appeared to me to be more nutritive ; it is not unpleasant to eat, when it has been first a little soaked, and afterwards fried in butter ; yet it is very difficult of digestion.

The finest part of the meal is mixed with water, and the paste is rubbed into little round grains, like small shot, and dried. This preparation is not disagreeable in soups, in lieu of Italian macaroni : the fago that is

* The mould, or oven, for baking fago-bread is made of earthen ware ; it is generally nine inches square, and about four deep, divided into two equal parts by a partition parallel to its sides. Each of those parts is subdivided into eight or nine, about an inch broad, so that the whole contains two rows of cells, about eight or nine in a row. The oven is turned first on one side and afterwards on the other, upon the fire, and the cakes are sufficiently baked in about ten or twelve minutes. *T.*

produced in *Borneo* is esteemed the best for this purpose.

A preparation is likewise made of this finest part of the meal, which is called *popeda*, and has much resemblance to the porridge of buckwheat-meal which is made in *Holland*, but it is much more gelatinous. This is eat off of little sticks, which being dipped into the *popeda*, take with them a part of it which adheres to them ; they are then dipped in fish-broth, and, together with a little fish, constitute the best dish of the Amboynese, and even of those who are descendants of Europeans.

A *toma*, or twenty-five pounds weight, of fago-meal, is sold here, in general, for seven or eight stivers ; and an ordinary tree, which can commonly be *poেকেled* from its twelfth to its twentieth year, yields five or six hundred pounds of it.

Besides the farinaceous part for food, the fago-tree yields other things of utility to the Indians.

The stem or bark, after the meal has been *poেকেled* out, is made use of by the natives, to form little bridges, over rivulets, or little creeks.

What are called the branches, which are
chan-

channelled on the upper side, and convex on the under, serve also sometimes for the same purpose ; but the chief use which the Amboynese make of them is for the walls and roofs of their houses, and for packing-cases, &c. This article is called *gabbe-gabba*.

The leaves, laced together, form what is called *atap*, and serve instead of tiles for covering of houses, and to preserve things from the rain ; but roofs of *atap* must be renewed every six or seven years *.

Although

* The fago-tree has, like all the trees of the palm-kind, a cabbage, which is eaten by the natives, though it is not so good or wholesome as that of the *aneebong*, or proper cabbage-palm. When a fago-tree has been felled, the *ela*, or refuse, is frequently left in the woods, and the wild hogs fatten upon it ; a kind of mushrooms, which are much esteemed by the natives, grow upon the heaps of *ela*. The fago-tree is even of benefit after it has been deprived of its pith, and left to rot where it was felled ; for when rotten, a sort of very fat white worms, called *fago-worms*, with brown heads, are found in it, which the Indians roast, and think a great delicacy. A computation has been made by FORREST of how many persons may live on an acre planted with fago-trees. A fago-tree he allows to take up 100 square feet ; now the contents of an acre are 43,500 square feet, which allows 435 trees to grow within that space ; but supposing only 300, and that, one with another, they give 300 weight of flour, then three trees, or 900 weight, would maintain one man for a year, and an acre to be cut
down

Although the fago-tree grows on almost all the islands of this province, it is upon that of *Hoewamoebil*, or *Little Ceram*, that the largest woods of it are found, of which the Company reserve the property to themselves, and annually dispose of their produce to their own emolument. The woods of *Loehoe* and *Hanitello* yielded to the Company, in one year, according to the report of Governor ROOZEBOOM, the quantity of 1067*lb.* It is distinguished into three sorts, which the Company have respectively sold at the following prices :

the *maha poetey*, or best sort, at 1 rix-dollar per *lb.*

the *majou baroe*, or second sort, at $\frac{3}{4}$ rix-dollar per pound.

down would maintain 100 men for the same time ; now, as fago-trees are seven years a-growing, 100 divided by seven, will allow fourteen men to be maintained for a year on the produce of one-seventh part of an acre, immediately, or on the produce of a whole acre, progressively cut, one-seventh part at a time, allowing fresh trees to sprout up. By Dr. FORSTER's computation, ten or twelve persons live eight months upon the produce of an acre planted with bread-fruit-trees, at *Otabeite*. T.

the

the *seri boa*, or third sort, at $\frac{1}{2}$ rixdollar per pound *.

In how far now these sago-woods of *Little Ceram* are a source of revenue to the governor of *Amboyna*, I will not here examine into.

Fruits and vegetables for food, or refreshment, are but scarce. The shaddock †, which is by no means as good as at *Batavia*, a few sweet oranges, mangos ‡, mangoosteens §, the bilembing ||, and watermelons, are al-

* The inconsistency of this paragraph with what has gone before, must be ascribed to some very material errors of the press, in numerical characters, in the original; the quantity of 1067 lb. of sago is barely the produce of two trees, according to what has preceded, and therefore is palpably absurd as applied to the produce of *the largest woods*; supposing it even ought to have been printed 106,780, it would fall considerably short of what that expression would lead us to expect, as it would then be no more than the produce of about 200 trees. How, too, shall we reconcile the prices of $1\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{1}{2}$, rixdollar per pound, with that of seven or eight stivers for twenty-five pounds? No clue has been found in any of the writers consulted to solve these difficulties, and there was therefore no alternative to leaving the text as it stands in the original. T.

† *Citrus decumanus*.

‡ *Mangifera indica*.

§ *Garcinia mangostana*.

|| *Averrhoa belimbi*.

most

most the only fruits, and they are not very abundant. The few vegetables which grow here, require infinitely more attention in rearing them than at *Batavia*.

The *sagwire* is a liquor drawn from a tree, which, according to the little knowledge I have of botany, belongs to the same genus with the cocoa-nut, fago, firi, and date-trees. It is of the same nature as the toddy, or palmwine.

When it first comes from the tree, it is clear, and looks much like pure water. Its taste is sweet, but refreshing. It becomes acidulated by degrees, and at last turns quite sour, which, however, can be prevented by preparing it by means of a certain bitter wood *, which being put into it preserves it good for a long time : although it then loses its pleasant taste, and turns thickest, looking like orgeade, or almond-milk, it is esteemed more wholesome, and has an inebriating quality ; it is afterwards kept in bottles well worked.

* For this purpose the roots of a tree called the *sosnot-tree* are used, which occasion a fermentation in the *sagwire*, and in about eight hours, make it fit for keeping. T.

The tree which yields this liquor, has always a faded appearance, with many yellow, dead leaves, which look much like those of the fago-tree. One of these leaves, or rather branches, is cut off, and the *sagwire* trickles out of it by drops, which are caught in a bamboo, hung under it for that purpose, and when this is full, the contents are drawn off, by a tap at the bottom ; this operation is called *tyffering*.

The woods are filled with deer, and with wild hogs, the flesh of which animals is almost the only meat that is eaten here. It is used fresh, salted, and dried : in the last manner, it is called *dingding* ; it is broiled a little over the fire, and eaten with rice : it is a chief article of food of the Europeans, and the Amboynefe eat it likewise when they can afford to purchase it.

Among the wild animals, which inhabits the woods of the island *Bouro*, there is one which bears the name of *babi-roussa*, or the *bog-deer* ; it has been fully described by VALENTYN, who has given us a representation of it ; but it appeared to me, when I compared the figure with one of the animals
alive,

alive, that its legs were longer than they are there represented*.

The bay used formerly to abound in fish ; but they are not so plentiful now, on account of the violent earthquake of the year 1754. Most of the fish that are found here are peculiar to these seas.

* The *babi-roussa*, which is a Malay appellation, signifying hog-deer, partakes, as its name denotes, of the nature both of the hog and of the deer. The chief singularity of the animal consists in two of its upper teeth being curved round, and, penetrating through the bone of the forehead, appear just above the snout, like two semicircular horns ; they are sometimes so far bent round, that they grow into the bone of the head again : it has likewise two tusks placed in the under jaw, like other wild boars ; the female is without any of these projecting teeth : it has a soft thin skin, with short hair, and has no bristles : the snout is more pointed than that of the other wild hogs, and the tail is longer, with a bunch of hair at the end ; the ears are pretty short, and the eyes small ; its feet have each two long and two short toes, but the fore legs are much shorter than the hinder ones ; these animals are easily hunted down ; but they frequently hurt the dogs with their lower tusks ; the upper tusks are too far recurvated to admit of their defending themselves with them. Their flesh more resembles venison than pork ; there is little fat upon it, it being mostly solid meat. They do not live, like the other wild hogs, upon sago and canari, a sort of almonds, but chiefly upon grass and the leaves of trees. They never associate with the wild hogs, and when hunted, they generally take to the water, where they are very expert in swimming and in diving, and sometimes swim over from one island to the other. T.

Many

Many very strange fishes, must have been met with here, in the time of VALENTYN*; and in this region of wonders, it is not sufficient that the really singular productions of nature are beheld and admired, or feared, but superstition has multiplied wonders upon wonders. *Inter alia*, there is, says the Amboynese, and likewise the Macassers, a monster that has its abode in these seas, which they describe as having a thousand legs, all of them so large, that if it lay but one of the thousand upon any vessel, it must immediately founder; and yet this monster is believed to be afraid of a common cock; whence these poor superstitious mortals will never put to sea without having chanticler for a guardian-angel on board.

There is likewise, it is said, a large fish, near the pierhead at *Amboyna*, to which the name of *Jacob Evertsen* has been given, and they pretend that it takes away one man every year. I am not qualified to say whether any fish of the shark kind does, or does not, particularly resort to that spot, although many reputable people at *Amboyna* believe

* VALENTYN describes, and gives representations of, 528 different sorts of fish, mostly peculiar to these seas. T.

the whole story ; but it is certain, however, that on the evening of my arrival here, about nine o'clock, a sailor of one of the sloops that lay just behind my ship, on his swimming a-shore to fetch his pocket-handkerchief, which he had left, was so dreadfully bitten by some fish or other in the head, that he died the same night ; and he would probably have been dragged to the bottom and devoured, had not immediate assistance been given to him, upon his loud cries for help, as well from my ship as from the other vessels.

From lions, tigers, wolves, and other beasts of prey, *Amboyna* is free. The most noxious animals are snakes, of which there are several sorts in the woods and fields, which are amply described by VALENTYN.

I one morning, walking in the garden behind my house, found the *oelar bifa nepis*, or *thin poison snake**, so close to me, that I should

* Nearly twenty different sorts of snakes are described by VALENTYN. Among them the *oelar bifa birae*. or *blue poison snake*, is the most venomous ; it is no more than a foot and a half in length, and about two inches thick ; it is remarkably quick, and its bite is mortal. The *oelar bifa nepis*, or *thin poison*

should probably have trodden on it, had it not first discovered and hissed at me, whereby I had just time to retire from the dangerous neighbourhood; I caught it a little while afterwards, and preserved it in spirits.

The snakes with legs, appear to me to belong rather to the lizard tribe, than that of snakes. Among the singularities here, we may reckon the flying lizard.

I shall not speak of the other animals and insects, crocodiles, alligators, gek-kos, lizards, scorpions, centipedes, nor of the very curious insect called the *walking leaf*, as they are all sufficiently described by VALENTYN.*

Of the domestic animals, among which are enumerated buffaloes, cows, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs, the lastmentioned only are natives of the country; the others

poison snake, is scarcely a quarter of an inch thick, and about a foot and a half, or two feet, in length; its bite is equally incurable. T.

* The inestimable work of VALENTYN, to which the reader is so frequently referred, is scarce even in Holland; it consists of five large folio volumes, containing upwards of 1000 copperplates. The translator is in possession of a copy, which he procured at much pains and expence; and would his limits allow of it, he would be more copious in his extracts from it, as it is a treasure locked up in a chest, of which few have the key, no translation having ever been made of it. T.

have

have been brought hither, as well by the Portuguese as by the Dutch, from *Java*, *Celebes*, and the southwestern isles.

The cows here give much less milk, and worse butter than in *Java*; the price of the butter remains the same as it was eighty years ago, in the time of VALENTYN, viz. one rixdollar per pound.

CHAPTER IV.

Inhabitants of AMBOYNA.—The Alfoerefe.—Account of them by RUMPHIUS.—The Amboynese.—Their Stature.—Appearance.—Temper.—The Women.—Their Lasciviousness.—The Religion of the Amboynese.—Their Idolatry.—Vices.—Amboynese Christians.—Their Superstition.—Their Government.—The Chinese.—Account of a Chinese Marriage at AMBOYNA.—Descendants of Portuguese.—Foundation and Extensjon of the Power of the Duchy here.

THE inhabitants of *Amboyna*, and of the adjacent islands belonging to this government, may properly be divided into four classes, viz. the Alforese, the Amboynese, the Europeans, and the Chinese.

The Alfoers or Alfoerefe are, in all probability, the first and most ancient inhabitants of these countries ; at the present day they still remain separate from the other inhabitants, and dwell in the mountains of *Bouro* and *Ceram*, where they live according

ing to their ancient customs, and avoid all intercourse with the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, except when they are in want of such articles as are not to be met with in the interior parts of the islands, which chiefly consists in iron and salt, against which commodities they give in barter the productions of their mountains.

The few which I saw of this nation, appeared to me not so dark in colour, and both handsomer and more finewy than the Amboynese.

I met with the following account of them, in the description of *Amboyna* composed by RUMPHIUS, which, having been prohibited by the government at *Batavia*, has never been printed, but of which a manuscript copy is preserved in the secretary's office at *Amboyna*.

“ Most of the Alforese inhabit the wild
 “ mountains and interior parts of *Ceram*.
 “ They are large, strong, and savage people,
 “ in general taller than the inhabitants of
 “ the sea-shores; they go mostly naked, both
 “ men and women, and only wear a thick
 “ bandage round their waist, which is called
 “ *chiaaca*, and is made of the milky bark of
 “ a tree,

“ a tree, called by them *sacka* (being the
 “ *sicamorus alba*). They tie their hair up-
 “ on the head over a cocoa-nut shell, and
 “ stick a comb in it; round the neck they
 “ wear a string of beads.

“ Their arms are, a sword made of bam-
 “ boo, together with a bow and arrows.

“ They are sharp-sighted, and so nimble
 “ in running, that they can run down and
 “ kill a wild hog, at its utmost speed.

“ An ancient, but most detestable and
 “ criminal custom prevails among them,
 “ agreeable to which, no one is allowed to
 “ take a wife, before he can shew a head of
 “ an enemy which he has cut off: in order
 “ to obtain this qualification for matrimony,
 “ six, eight, or ten of them go together to a
 “ strange part, where they stay till they have
 “ an opportunity of surprising some one,
 “ which they do with great dexterity, spring-
 “ ing upon the unwary passenger like tigers:
 “ they generally cover themselves with
 “ branches of trees and bushes, so that they
 “ are rather taken for brakes and thickets
 “ than for men; in this posture they lie in
 “ wait for their prey, and take the first op-
 “ portunity that presents itself of darting
 “ their

“ their *toran* or *sagoe* (a sort of missile lance)
 “ into the back of a passenger, or spring
 “ upon him at once, and cut off his head,
 “ with which they instantly decamp, and fly
 “ with speed from the scene of their wanton
 “ barbarity.

“ If they want to build a new house, or
 “ a new *baleeuw*, which is a kind of council-
 “ hall, they must equally first go and fetch
 “ some human heads. They are not to be
 “ broken of this horrid custom; and it is
 “ the only objection they make to embrac-
 “ ing the Christian religion, that they must
 “ then abandon it; for no one attains a
 “ higher degree of fame and respect, than
 “ he who has brought in the most heads;
 “ and in proof of his prowess, he wears
 “ as many little white shells round his neck
 “ and arms, as he has murdered men.

“ The heads thus brought in are shewn
 “ upon a stone in the village, consecrated to
 “ that purpose, and are afterwards heaped
 “ together in dark groves, in the recesses of
 “ the mountains, where they practise their
 “ diabolical rites, for they do not perform
 “ the demonolatry they are addicted to, in
 “ any temples, but here and there in solitary
 “ places,

“ places, and in dreary woods, where the
 “ devil answers their interrogatories, and
 “ often carries away some of them, espe-
 “ cially children, for three or four months,
 “ after which time he brings them back
 “ again, after having presented them with
 “ painted canes, to which several little strings
 “ of Chinese copper-money are attached *.

“ They subsist upon the wild animals

* These circumstances assume a more probable appearance in the more ample relation which VALENTYN gives of the religion of the Alforese. “ They have,” he says, “ in *Ceram*, “ and elsewhere, temples which they call *marels*, and like- wife *toetoe-wo*, made of *gabbe gabba*, which stand in the “ deepest part of the woods, and under the darkest trees. In “ them, parents deliver their children, under twelve years of “ age, to the priests, to be instructed in the service of their “ demon or god, and the priests receive the children, without “ the parents being able to see any thing in the temple, on ac- “ count of the almost utter darkness that prevails in it. Im- “ mediately after they hear the most dismal cries, and see “ bloody pikes sticking through the roof of the temple; and “ though this would seem to denote that their children are “ murdered, they receive them back in three months. Each “ of those children then receives a painted stick of thin white “ cane, upon which some figures are burnt, and to which a “ few strings of Chinese copper coins are hung; they are then “ rubbed with yellow paint and aromatic oils, and sent about “ the village to beg for gongs, clothes, and other things, for “ the chief priest.” The remainder of the account he gives of the Alforese, though far more copious, is perfectly similar to and consistent with that of Mr. RUMPHIUS. T.

“ which

“ which they catch in the woods; nor do
 “ they even disdain snakes.

“ Their women are of a tolerably fair
 “ complexion, well proportioned, and alto-
 “ gether by no means disagreeable.

“ Among these Alforese, there is another
 “ kind of savage people, who do not dwell
 “ in any houses or huts, but upon high
 “ *warinje*, and other trees, which spread
 “ their branches wide round: they lead and
 “ intertwine the branches so closely together,
 “ that they form an easy resting-place; and
 “ each tree is the habitation of a whole fa-
 “ mily: they adopt this mode, because they
 “ dare not trust even those of their own na-
 “ tion, as they surprize each other during
 “ the night, and kill whoever they take
 “ hold of.”

Thus far the relation of Mr. RUMPHIUS,
 who being a man of some experience and
 much reputation, deserves credit in some in-
 stances.

I could not meet with any other intelli-
 gence respecting these people at *Amboyna*, as
 they are but seldom visited, and still more
 rarely by people either able or willing to ob-
 serve and record what is curious among
 them.

The

The Amboynese are also very ancient inhabitants of these islands ; but the difference of their make, and the rather darker shade of their complexion, seem to point out that they are not descended from the same progenitors as the Alforese.

They are of a middling size, rather thin than otherwise ; their colour is nearer approaching to black than to brown ; both men and women have regular features, and among the latter there are very many who are handsome : it seemed very probable to me, that the country or the climate contributed much to this, though how or why I cannot tell, for the children of Europeans born here, are almost all pretty, and much more so than in *Java*, or at *Batavia*.

Neither the thick lips, nor the depressed noses, which, according to our ideas of beauty, deform the “ human face divine” in other hot countries, are seen here ; but on the contrary, and especially among the females, perfectly symmetrical countenances are the general characteristic of the inhabitants.

They are indolent and effeminate, and both want and violence prove but feeble motives to incite them to labour. Yet this is no more than is almost universally the case
with

with all nations who bow their necks under a foreign yoke, especially in the Asiatic regions, and other warm countries : and I think it probable, though the heat of the climate is alone sufficient to produce inactivity, and a repugnance to every thing that fatigues the body, that they had been slaves inured to servitude under the dominion of strangers, long before the Europeans came hither. The fervency of the climate, united to the easy mode of procuring subsistence from the sago-tree, and from the copious supply of fish, which was formerly within their reach, in the bay of *Ambeyna*, have been the causes that they have never been obliged to have recourse to the fatiguing labours of agriculture, to administer to the wants of nature. Hence they have easily fallen a prey to the nations who aimed at subduing them, as was manifest in the war with the Ternatese, the Portuguese, and the Dutch. Neither were they at all the cause that the princes of *Celebes* have not extended their dominion so far to the eastward, for the three abovementioned nations have always prevented it ; although at that time the kings of *Noussanivel* took the high
founding

foundling and proud title of *kings of ten thousand swords*.

The Company must not, therefore, ever think that the Amboyneſe would be of any help to them, in caſe a foreign power were to endeavour to wreſt theſe poſſeſſions from them; for, were there no other reaſons to induce them to look upon any change as being for the better, their indifferent, indolent, and timorous diſpoſition would be ſufficient to prevent them from joining either ſide. It is true, that thoſe of *Hitoe* formerly ſhewed a little more courage in the civil commotions which took place in the laſt century, when they fought for independance, as they could no longer bear the oppreſſion of their inhuman taſk-maſters; but in the caſe we have ſuppoſed, it would be the ſame to them, beneath which European yoke they had to bend; as, let the event be as it might, they would always have to wear the chains of the conquerors; beſides that, as attached to the Mahomedan religion, they are the ſworn enemies of all chriſtians.

The women, though they are not ſo indolent as the men, are, on the other hand, exceſſively laſcivious; they poſſeſs no chaſtity
either

either in a married, or an unmarried state, and there is nothing that can restrain them from satisfying their passionate desires. It is very usual among them, that a girl gives proofs of her fruitfulness before marriage, which is never the least bar to getting a husband; and, on the contrary, frequently is a reason for being preferred to others, of whom it is less certain that they are capable of becoming mothers.

The Amboynese were in former times, as the Alforese are at present, idolaters; but the Javenese, who began to trade hither in the latter end of the fifteenth, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, endeavoured to disseminate the doctrines of Mahomet here, and they succeeded so well, that in the year 1515, that religion was generally received.

The Portuguese arriving here in the mean time, endeavoured likewise to make the Roman catholic religion agreeable to the inhabitants, and to propagate it amongst them; which, in particular, took place, according to RUMPHIUS, in the year 1532, on the peninsula of *Leytimor*, but those of *Hitoe* have, to the present day, remained firmly attached
to

to the Mahomedan faith, whence, in contradistinction to the Leytimorese, they are called Moors.

When our people came to *Amboyna*, and the Portuguese were expelled from the island, the protestant religion was gradually introduced ; yet the unpleasing result of these frequent changes of religion has been, as might naturally be expected, that, from blind idolaters, they have first become bad Roman catholics, and afterwards worse protestants.

The practice of idolatry cannot yet be wholly eradicated : this, added to the prevalence of the superstitions which disgrace christianity among the followers of the Roman catholic persuasion, and the almost universal negligence, and want of zeal, of our ecclesiastics in these regions, almost entirely takes away the hope that the salutary doctrines of the gospel will ever be deeply rooted here, and that the Amboynese will ever be cured of their deplorable blindness.

I cannot either say much good respecting their moral conduct ; I have before mentioned that the women are universally unchaste,

chaste, and the men are, in this respect, no better. Theft is likewise one of the most prevalent vices among the Amboynese, and they are not a little dexterous in contriving the means of pilfering; I had twice experience of their adroitness in this respect, during my residence among them. Malice and envy are predominant passions in their breasts, and are carried to great excess; they envy each other the least degree of benefit, or prosperity; yet this is seldom productive of public assassination, or private murder, among them, for being a pusillanimous and superstitious race of men, death is to them, more than to any other nation, a king of terrors.

When these Amboynese christians go in their vessels past a certain hill on the south coast of *Ceram*, they make an offering to the evil spirit, which they believe resides there, in order that he may not do any harm to them, or to their vessels. This offering is made in the following manner: they lay a few flowers, and a small piece of money, into empty cocoanut-shells, which they set a-floating in the water: if it be in the evening, they put oil into them, with
 little

little wicks, which they set a-light, and let burn out upon the water : they are persuaded that, by this means, they have appeased the evil spirit, and that he will not raise any storm against them.

VALENTYN has been sufficiently ample in describing their dress, houses, diseases, customs, &c. * to preclude the necessity of my saying more about them ; I wish only to observe that that writer has placed almost every thing in the most advantageous light.

The inhabitants of *Amboyna* seem, from time immemorial, never to have been united under one head ; but, as the most ancient accounts and traditions relate, each negree, or village, was governed by its own chief. It is true, there have been, and there are at present, unions of four or five negrees under one chief ; but they are the least in number : among these, the principal is *Nouffanivel*, whose *rajab*, or king, has three other negrees under his dominion.

* In chapter i, ii, iii, and iv. of the fourth, and chapter i. of the fifth book of vol. II. of VALENTYN's *Oud en nieuw Oost Indien*. T.

These chiefs are distinguished into three classes, or ranks ; thus, there are *rajahs*, or kings ; *pattis*, who may be said to be dukes or earls ; and *oran cayos*, which signifies as much as *rich men*. Their chiefs, however, do not possess an absolute authority : every negree has given as council to their chief, consisting of the oldest and most respectable men of the village, who are called *oran touas*, that is, *elders* ; and the *rajah*, *patti*, or *oran cayo*, of the negree is bound to consult with them at the *caleeuw*, or council-hall, on all the concerns of the community.

Every negree has likewise its *marinhos*, who do not assist at the councils, but are exalted above the commonalty, and serve for exhorters and encouragers of the people in every public work.

Besides several little services which the common people are obliged to perform for these chiefs *, the last have likewise an income proceeding from the crops of cloves,

* They are obliged to build the houses of their chiefs, and to furnish all the timber, gabbe gabba, atap, and other materials necessary for the construction, but the chiefs must maintain them while they are at work. 7.

which

which the Company have bestowed upon them.

The Company pay, for every *bhar* of five hundred and fifty pounds weight of cloves, fifty-six rixdollars, or one hundred-and-thirty-four gilders, and eight stivers* ; but of this, the planters receive only fifty-one rixdollars, the remaining five being divided among the village-chiefs, three being allotted to the *rajah*, *patti*, or *oran cayo*, one and a half to the *oran touas*, or elders, and one-half rixdollar to the *marinbos*.

For these and other reasons, the offices above alluded to, are eagerly sought after, and are only obtained for a certain sum of money, of which some of the governors who have ruled here in behalf of the Company, have not a little availed ; I could enumerate some, who have come here with very little property, and in the course of a few years, by these, and other means, have accumulated considerable wealth, and who, immediately upon their return to *Batavia*,

* The cloves cost the Dutch Company, at *Amboyna*, full six stivers per pound, or about $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling. T.

have,

have, in consequence, solicited leave from the government, to transmit large sums of money to Europe.

The sale of these rejeantships is not, however, an innovation of late date ; for, from the beginning, every *oran cayo* paid fifty rixdollars for his nomination, a *patti* one hundred, and a *rajab* still more ; so that the *rajab* of *Nouffanivel* was even once obliged to give a gratification of three thousand rixdollars.

The Chinese who frequent this island, as well as all the others in the eastern parts of India, where the Company have possessions, are not, however, very numerous at *Amboyna*, because there is very little trade, and scarcely any agriculture, two pursuits, to which, in general, that nation are very averse to. If a calculation of their number were to be made from the head-money which they pay, all the Chinese would scarcely be found to amount to one hundred individuals ; but the frauds which are practised in the declarations made in this respect, are the cause that this cannot be considered as a proper rule.

They dwell here in a street, which is
called

called after them, where they keep their shops, with all sorts of provisions, &c. for sale.

They are under the authority of a chief of their own nation, who is called captain, and who has at present a lieutenant under him, which was not formerly the case ; but one of the governors was induced to institute this lieutenant's office, by means of a present of five hundred rixdollars.

They do not intermarry with the Amboynese, but marry amongst each other ; and if it happen that they are in want of women, they take Macasser or Bouginese girls for concubines.

In the month of April of the year 1775, a Chinese youth came purposely from *Batavia* to *Amboyna*, to marry the daughter of one of his countrymen who was settled here, and was a man of property. I went to see the ceremonies that were made use of ; I came too late to see the beginning of them, which, I was told, consisted principally in the throwing backwards and forwards of an egg into the wine sleeves of the bridegroom and of the bride. I found them both sitting next to each other in a parlour, with their eyes fixed
on

on the ground, as if meditating on what had been done, without speaking a word to, or looking at each other. An oblong little table stood before them, covered with red silk, which was embroidered with flowers of gold; upon it were set, before each of them, a little cup with tea, and three or four little china dishes with confectionary and boiled birds' nests. The bridal bed was in the same apartment; it was likewise hung round with red silk; but there was a partition made in it, separating the place where the bridegroom was to lie, from that of the bride; the former, however, occupied about two-thirds of the bed. The bride, who was a plump jolly maiden, nearly white, and pretty enough, wore a robe of red silk, with long and wide sleeves; a chain of gold hung round her neck, and down upon her bosom: on her head she wore a black bonnet, tapering upwards to a point, and adorned with three rows of jewels. The bridegroom was dressed in a similar robe of blue silk and cotton. They both kept their arms and hands constantly tucked into the sleeves. When the bridegroom stood up, he did it so slowly and cautiously, and without moving his eyes

in

in the least, that he appeared perfectly like an image of wax, or an automaton moved by invisible mechanism.

The young couple were forced to endure the repetition of this tedious ceremony for three successive days, and always in sight of their nuptial bed, before they were allowed to perform the essential rites of marriage.

There are still many descendants of the Portuguese here, who, when their countrymen were forced to give up the dominion of the island to ours, chose to remain under the government of the Dutch.

The principal Amboynese Christians still bear Portuguese names, which their ancestors received at their baptism; but the Portuguese language is less spoken here, than in any other part of India, and the number of the abovementioned descendants of Portuguese is not large.

Our countrymen who, in the year 1605, under the command of their admiral STEPHEN VAN DER HAGEN, took the castle of *Victoria*, which was the chief settlement of the Portuguese upon the island, are now here absolute masters, as well over the peninsulas of *Hitoe* and *Leytimor*, as over the *Uliassers*,
which

which comprehends the islands of *Oma*, *Honimoo*, *Nouffa*, and *Molaria*; and likewise over *Manipa*, *Kelang*, *Bonoa*, the north coast of *Bouro*, *Little Ceram* or *Hoewamoehil*, and some places on *Great Ceram*; although a great part of the last century was elapsed before they were in full possession of the coast of *Hitoe*, as well as of *Little Ceram*, on account of the opposition they met with from the *Quimelabas*, or Ternatefe governors, the king of *Ternate* looking upon part of these countries as his territory; and from the four chiefs of *Hitoe*, who refused to be deprived of their independance, and openly resisted the arms of the Company. But these obstacles being now removed, the Company have little more to do than to oppose the attempts of foreign nations, and to prevent a clandestine trade with them, of which I shall say more hereafter.

CHAPTER V.

Government at AMBOYNA.—Counsel of Polity.—Revenues of the Governors.—Vice-Governor.—Commandant of the Military.—Resident of HILA.—Chief of SEPAROUA.—Fiscal.—Chief of HAROUKO.—Resident of LARIKE.—Chiefs of BOURRO, and MANIPA.—Other Servants of the Company.—Allowance to the Company's Servants cut of the Crop of Cloves.—Repartition of it among them.—Council of Justice.—Great Influence of the Governor.—Shameful Abuses.—Instance of unexampled Cruelty and Injustice.—Other Courts or Boards.—Clergymen and Ecclesiastical Matters.

THE general administration of the affairs of this province is vested in a governor, who is appointed by the council of India, and is commonly one of the secretaries of the council, or one of the Company's servants at other out-factories; the second has seldom succeeded to the command, the reason of which I am ignorant of.

A council is appointed to assist the governor, consisting of the first qualified servants
of

of the Company, whose advice and concurrence he is bound to have, in planning, arranging, and executing all matters of importance, as is the case in all the out-factories; but in how far the power of the governor is hereby circumscribed, is easily deducible from the consideration, that he possesses the power of dismissing the counsellors from the Company's service, and sending them to *Batavia*, where it does not often happen that a superior is cast in any dispute with an inferior; and the injured party seldom finds either redress or consolation, unless he have powerful friends to make interest in his behalf. Besides that such a governor is able by a thousand different means, and in indirect ways, to treat such as he is displeased with, in so mortifying a manner, and to curtail their income and emoluments to such a degree, that they would rather thank heaven to be out of his hands.

But this evil has, alas! been of long standing; it will always be one of the most corroding cankers that consume the vitals of the Company, and will at last bring the society to destruction.

The revenues of a governor at *Amboyna*
being

being but small, on account of the little trade which is carried on here, and the consequent extreme degree of fraud and oppression that prevailed here, induced the government at *Batavia*, with the approbation of the directors at home, to come to a resolution in the year 1755, to provide against the growing evil ; and they therefore determined to give the governor a yearly additional allowance of six thousand rixdollars, or fourteen thousand four hundred guilders *.

This, added to other emoluments which long prescription has legalized, is sufficient to enable the governor to live according to his rank, without his being obliged to put such means in practice, as one of the governors, whose name I shall not here mention, used to employ to double his revenues.

The vice-governor, or second person in rank, is a senior merchant, and at the same time head-administrator, filling likewise, as is the custom in all the out-factories, the office of commercial book-keeper : he is also president of the council of justice, and of the orphan-chamber.

* About 1300l. Sterling. T.

The third in rank is the commandant of the military, who has the rank, title, and pay of captain. He is the chief of all the troops in the whole province, the promotion of all the subaltern officers used formerly to be solely effected at his recommendation; but the advantages of this office were considerably curtailed by Mr. * * *, who even publicly sold the places of serjeants and corporals in the military, for fifty, or one hundred rix-dollars, both to the Amboynese and to the Europeans, without the commandant daring to complain of his proceedings; and it now yields but a poor subsistence.

Upon this officer follows, the chief or resident of *Hila*, who has the greatest part of the north coast of *Hitoe*, and *Little Ceram Hoewamoebil*, under his management; next to *Saparoua*, his district is the most famous for the collection of cloves: he has a good income, and the rank of merchant.

The fifth in order is the chief of *Saparoua*; this factory lies in the island *Honimoa*: not only that island, but also *Noussa laut*, and part of *Great Ceram* belong to his jurisdiction. The first-named island, are very fertile, and yield more than half the annual quantity of
cloves

cloves which are gathered in the province. The income of this resident is computed to yield only in amount to that of the governor.

Next follows the fiscal, who is equally a merchant in rank ; his duty, as every where, is to take care that the property of the Company be not injured : he has likewise a concluding vote in the council of polity.

The sixth is the chief of *Haroeke*, upon the island of *Oma*, to which also belongs a part of *Ceram* : he is generally a junior merchant.

The seventh is the chief of *Larike*. This factory stands on the south-west coast of the land of *Hitoe*, and the island of *Amblauw*, which formerly belonged to *Bouro*, has lately been put under the jurisdiction of *Larike*.

The *Soldyboekhouder*, paymaster, or garrison book-keeper, is the eighth ; who is, at the same time *Curator ad lites*, and president of the board of controul over marriages.

These eight, together with the *winkelier*, or purveyor, who, as well as the last-mentioned officers, is a junior merchant, make the nine, who are appointed as a council of polity

lity to watch over the interests of the Company in conjunction with the governor.

They have a secretary, who has also the rank of junior merchant.

Upon these follow the residents of *Bouro* and *Manipa*, the cashier, the secretary of the council of justice, who is at the same time first clerk in the office of the secretary of the council of polity, the *Negotie, en Soldy-overdraagers*, or the writers of the commercial and military ledgers, who are all book-keepers in rank ; and lastly, the comptroller of equipment, who had before the rank of sea-lieutenant, but now that of sea-captain.

To this province further belong four lieutenants of the military, and eleven ensigns.

In order to afford a better means of subsistence to all these placemen, a yearly repartition is made among them, according to their respective ranks, out of the annual crop of cloves ; and I subjoin a statement of the repartition which was made in the year 1755, agreeable to the regulation established by the government at *Batavia*, on the 31st of May of the same year, which will at the same time give an idea of the quantity of cloves annually collected, viz.

In

In the Year 1755.

Factories.	Cloves collected in all.	Amount of ditto paid by the Company.		20 per cent on the weight al- lowed to the Company's ser- vants	Amount of ditto.	
		<i>rixd.</i>	<i>fliv.</i>		<i>rixd.</i>	<i>fliv.</i>
at the chief set- tlements <i>New</i> <i>Victoria</i>	<i>lbs.</i> 115,767	11,787	8½	23,153½	2,357	21
at the factory <i>Saparoua</i>	422,407	43,008	34½	84,480½	8,601	30½
— <i>Hila</i>	149,606	15,232	29½	29,921½	3,046	25
— <i>Haroko</i>	39,231	3,994	20½	7,846½	798	42½
— <i>Larika</i>	49,114	5,000	33½	9,826½	1,000	25½
Total	776,125	79,023	30½	155,228	15,805	00½

*Repartition among the Company's servants of the above, viz. of the
100 rixdollars.*

		<i>rixd.</i>	<i>fliv.</i>
to the governor and director	- - 40 per cent.	6,322	—
to the senior merchant, second	- - 12	1,896	29
to the captain commandant	- - 4	632	9½
to the merchant, chief of <i>Hila</i>	- - 7	1,106	16½
to ditto ditto of <i>Saparoua</i>	- - 7	1,106	16½
to ditto fiscal	- - 6	948	14½
to the junior merchant, chief of <i>Haroko</i>	- - 3	474	7½
to ditto ditto of <i>Larika</i>	- - 3	474	7½
to ditto, garrison book-keeper	- - 2	316	4½
to ditto purveyor	- - 2	316	4½
to ditto secretary of the council of polity	- - 2	316	4½
to the book-keeper, resident of <i>Bouro</i>	- - 2	316	4½
to ditto cashier	- - 2	316	4½
to ditto resident of <i>Manipa</i>	- - 1	158	2½
to ditto secretary of the council of justice	- - 1	158	2½
to ditto writer of the commercial ledger	- - 1	158	2½
to ditto ditto of the military ledger	- - 1	158	2½
to the comptroller of equipment	- - 2	316	4½
to four lieutenants and eleven ensigns, together	- - 2	316	4½
	100	<i>rixd.</i> 15,805	00½

This

This method certainly gives a considerable support to the superior servants of the Company, and it is not at the charge of the Company, for it is the natives who pay it, and who are, at the same time, as it is said, well satisfied with it; for they were formerly so much defrauded in the weights of the cloves they furnished by the chiefs of the several factories, that it is beyond belief, without the Company deriving any advantage from it; wherefore the supreme government, not knowing how to do otherwise to prevent the extortion of their servants, put the matter upon the present footing; by which it is settled, that of every hundred bhar cloves furnished by the natives, only eighty shall be delivered to the Company, while the other twenty are to form the perquisites of their servants, who, however, are obliged to sell their cloves to the Company at the same price paid to the natives. In addition to this, the council of justice and the fiscal are strictly enjoined to watch against all injustice, or fraud, on the receipt and weighing of the cloves collected, in order that any infraction of their regulations in this respect

spect may meet with an exemplary punishment.

The council of justice consists of the second, as president, and six members, who generally assemble every fortnight, in a lower apartment of the stadhouse, or townhall. All civil and criminal causes are decided here; but in the former, an appeal can be made to the council of justice at *Batavia*; and the execution of sentences in the latter, may be suspended by the governor; yet if he approve them, whether they condemn the culprit to death, or to other corporal punishment, they are carried into execution; excepting, however, when the delinquent has the rank of merchant, and he is then sent up to *Batavia*, with the papers relative to the prosecution, and copy of his sentence; as is equally the case in all the other out-factories.

Although by an express command of the supreme government, the governor here may not intermeddle in any matters which come under the cognizance of the council of justice, farther than to approve, or suspend, their sentences in criminal cases, yet some
of

of them arrogate to themselves so much power in this respect, that, in the same manner as in the council of polity, they force a conformation to their will, or bid open defiance to justice and honesty, if the members of the council refuse to abet their iniquity.

How much soever justice may be administered here with severity towards the inferior classes, it is a lamentable circumstance, and as worthy of abhorrence as it is notorious, that the greatest and most shameful crimes of persons of high rank, or of favourites, remain unnoticed and unpunished. I shall adduce one instance of this rank abuse of authority, from which a judgment respecting others may be formed.

The chief of a certain factory upon one of the adjacent islands, having for some time beheld, with eyes of desire, a young girl, scarcely fourteen years of age, and remarkably beautiful, who had been adopted by a person at *Amboyna*, and brought up in his own house, gave him and his family an invitation to pay him a visit. The man accepted it with confidence and pleasure, and went thither with his wife, his daughter,
and

and this girl. When, in the evening, the guests retired to rest, it was so arranged by their host, that the object of his licentious pursuit was conducted to a bed in a distant and solitary apartment; there being, as it was pretended, no beds, or room, in or near those occupied by her friends.

In the dead of the night, when all, but the wakeful eyes of lust, were closed in deep repose, this wretch stole to the apartment of the innocent maid, whom he had thus inveigled into his snares, and completed his long-concerted scheme of villany, by the most brutal violation of her charms. The poor victim of his lust was found, the next morning, bathed in tears; and scarcely knowing that she was undone, related the whole exactly as it happened. The perpetrator of this deed of violence most strenuously denied the accusation; but he pretended, that he very well knew who was the ravisher; it was, he said, one of his slaves, an Amboynefe, who had frequently before made use of his master's name to attain his purpose, and cover his enormities. Neither the strong denial of the slave, nor the most solemn asseverations of the girl,

that

that the master, and no one else, had perpetrated the base action of the night, could ought avail; the monster added murder to rape; and the wretched slave was tied up, and whipped so unmercifully and incessantly, that he expired in a few minutes.

As this man was a gentleman of rank, and one of the particular minions of the governor, the matter was never enquired into, and all reports concerning it were smothered as much as possible.

A kind of provincial court is likewise established here, consisting in part of the Company's servants, and in part of the heads of some negrees, of whom the *rajahs* of *Nouffanivel* and *Soya* are the first, and follow in rank upon the members of the council of polity.

The governor likewise convokes from time to time an assembly of the native chiefs, in which he makes such orders public as he may have received from the government at *Batavia*, or which he may think necessary, and commands them to see them executed; for example, when a certain number of clove-trees are to be planted or destroyed, and other similar matters.

Besides

Besides these, there are an orphan-chamber, a court of assignees for bankrupt or intestate estates, a board of controul over marriages, and a court of common pleas.

The number of clergymen belonging to this government, is, I believe, when complete, six *, viz. four at the chief settlement and fort of *New Victoria*, one at *Hila*, and one at *Sapoura*; but when I was there, there was but one, the others being gone on a church-visitation to *Banda*, and the south-western islands belonging to that government.

He that remained had been for a long time a journeyman-bricklayer in the province of *Gelderland*; but this trade not succeeding to his liking, he went out, in the year 1769, as *krankbezoeker* † to India; and, together with several others, he was sent back to Holland, at the expence of Governor VAN

* On looking into the memorial of Governor MOSSEL, respecting the general state of India, of the 30th November, 1753, I perceive that the number of clergymen, in the province of *Amboyna*, was then settled at three. S.

† *Krankbezoeker* is perfectly synonymous with *ziekentrooster*, for an explanation of which term see the note to page 515, of the first volume; the former is literally *a visitor of the sick*, as *ziekentrooster* is *a comforter of the sick*. T.

DER PARRA, to be fitted for taking orders, and he had returned the preceding year as a qualified divine, and had shortly afterwards been sent to *Amboyna*, where there was little likelihood of his evangelical mission being remarkably exemplary, or successful.

As this person did not understand the Malay language, and had also very little inclination to attain it, the divine service at present administered in the Malay church, was confined to the reading of a sermon, written in that language, which was effected by a *krankbezoeker*, who performed the office of clerk, and who was, as the abovementioned clergyman was pleased to say, when he had been scarcely a day or two at *Amboyna*, the only religious man on the island. However uncharitable and rash the expression of this opinion was, it is, however, a fact, that I met with very few people here who had a tolerable knowledge of the doctrines of the reformed religion, or even of the moral duties prescribed by it.

There is a very considerable number of nominal christians, and who have received baptism, as well on the peninsulas of *Leytimor*, as at other places. By an annotation
in

in a resolution of the council of polity at *Amboyna*, of the 11th of March, 1774, it appeared, that the reverend Mr. VAN EINBRUG found, on a church-visitation (which he had, however, by some obstacles, been prevented from completing), in a part only of the places belonging to this government, the number of 21,124 nominal christians, but only 843 church-members.

The superstitious respect which these nominal christians pay to our clergymen, and a few outward signs of religion, are the principal marks by which they are distinguished from the rest of their countrymen.

Besides the regular clergy, there are *kranbezoezers*, and likewise stationary and itinerant schoolmasters, who are all paid by the Company, and instruct the children of the Amboynese in reading, writing, and psalmody, for which purpose a school is established in every negree, to which each inhabitant sends his children free of expence,

CHAPTER VI.

The Europeans at AMBOYNA.—Their Mode of Living.—The Women.—Dress.—Sedan-chairs.—Account of the Town.—Streets.—Churches.—Stadthouse, or Townhall.—Hospital.—Houses.—Springs.—Rivers.—Garden of the Governor.—Fortress of NEW VICTORIA.—Its Advantages and Defects.—Natural Strength of the Bay.—Proposals for new Fortifications.—Other little Forts in this Province.—Buildings in the Castle; not yet completed. Expence of the Erection of the Fort, &c.

THE number of Europeans, at least of those who have any quality in the service of the Company, is so small, that little can, in general, be said with respect to any peculiar mode of living they may observe. One thing, however, is immediately an object of remark to strangers, and that is, that in the forenoon, more strong liquor is drank, either arrack or geneva, than at *Batavia*, or in the west of India; though at *Macassar* it is almost the same; ten or twelve drams is
not

not an uncommon whet in a morning at *Amboyna*; and on setting down to dinner, a glass of spirits is the first thing presented to the guests, to strengthen the stomach, and raise an appetite.

I found little pleasure or sociability here; which, I was told, was to be ascribed to the late governor, whose distrustful temper made him look upon all social meetings with jealousy; this did not seem improbable to me, as I found that a short time before he left the island, and when he was not an object of apprehension or hope, as before, both social intercourse, and innocent gaiety, became daily more prevalent, which afforded much satisfaction to the new governor.

The common Europeans, both soldiers and mechanics, have very little opportunity of earning any money here, and their pay affords them little else than sago, and at most rice, with a little fish, for food, and water, *sagwire*, or arrack, for drink. The soldiers make a very shabby appearance; their uniform is made of blue linen, and hangs in tatters about them; without shoes or stockings; excepting, indeed, the bodyguards of the governor: they attend the
parade

parade barefooted, and are badly disciplined: to this picture may be added, an unhealthy, dropical, and feeble habit of body, occasioned by the immoderate use of *sagwire*, to which, too, is attributed the circumstance of their all having swollen and ulcerated legs; though this latter complaint is as rife among the sailors and mechanics, as among the military: their number is never complete, notwithstanding the supplies that are sent every year from *Batavia*.

There are very few women here, born of European fathers and mothers; but there are a great number of a mixed race, as many Europeans take Indian women for concubines, whose children are afterwards legitimated, and incorporated into the European nation*.

Married women live here very retired; they do not often mix in company with the men, and still more seldom enter into conversation

* At *Ambogna*, the children of European fathers, and Indian mothers, are called *Mixtices*, who are of an olive complexion; the children of a *Mixtice* and an European, are called *Poestices*; and those of a *Poestice* and an European, are *Castices*, who are nearly as fair as Europeans; after which no distinction is made, but the children proceeding from further unions are reckoned among the Europeans. T.

with them ; every thing that is addressed to them is answered by a single affirmative, or negative. I was told, that being always accustomed to speak the Malay tongue, they felt awkward, and were apprehensive of expressing themselves wrong in the Dutch ; yet I observed the same reserve, and want of power to carry on a conversation, when they were speaking in the Malay language, as when they were addressed in Dutch. Society is, then, here divided into male and female, by which, in my opinion, all company is rendered dull, formal, and disagreeable.

The dress of the ladies is like that of those at *Batavia*. The men dress in the European fashion, with this peculiarity however, that the greatest contrast in colours is sought after, for instance, blue silk breeches, with scarlet waistcoat, and black or dark brown coats, and *vice versa*.

No carriages are seen here ; indeed, there are no roads fit for them, for the country is every where both mountainous and rocky, so that it can even scarcely be traversed on horseback. A sort of sedan-chairs are made use of, in the room of carriages, with which
the

the Amboynese run up and down the most dangerous paths in the mountains, without there being hardly a single example of their letting them fall, or overturning them.

The town of *Amboyna*, if a place without gates or walls may deserve that name, lies on the peninsula of *Leytimor*, at the northwest side, about half way between the point of *Nouffanibel* and the *pass of Baguewala*, in a sloping plain, at the foot of the mountains of *Soya*, which surround it behind, and end at the *Rooden-berg*, or *Red-hill*, about two hundred and twenty roods, E.N.E. from the castle.

The town itself, without the adjacent negrees, which may be considered as suburbs, forms an oblong, irregular square, bounded by the *Bato gadja*, or *Elephant's* river, on one side, and the *Way tomo* on the other. According to the plan of the town, made and delineated in the year 1718, since which time no material alterations have been made in it, its length is full three hundred roods, from N.E. to S.W. and its breadth full one hundred, from the bay, southeastward.

The intersections, called streets, cross each

each other at right angles ; many of them are pretty wide, but none of them are paved.

Of the public buildings, the Dutch and Malay churches were both much damaged and nearly destroyed by the violent earthquake of the year 1755, the former in so far, that it was forced to be wholly pulled down, in order to be entirely rebuilt ; in this work, however, little progress had been made, when I was there, and service was, in the mean time, performed under a shed, built of *gabbe gabbas*, and covered with *atap* : the Malay church was split in such a manner from top to bottom, that for many years it has not been feasible to perform any service in it, which is now done, on Sunday afternoon, in the shed appointed to serve as a substitute for the Dutch church.

The *stadthouse*, or townhall, is likewise an old and ruinous building ; behind it is a large square area, round which are many little apartments, which serve for places of confinement for prisoners.

The hospital stands just out of the town, on the other side of the *Way tomo*. It was entirely rebuilt a few years ago. Near it
is

is a house appointed for the residence of the superintendant of the hospital. This hospital is one of the best, and fittest for the purpose, belonging to our Company, which I have seen in *India* : the building is a very good one, the sick are well treated in it, and by the excellent attention of the present superintendant, Mr. HENGVELD, they are kept extremely clean and neat.

The house of the governor, which was formerly the Company's cloth-warehouse, and is still known by that name in their books, has not much to recommend it; its appearance is mean, and there are few, and those very indifferent, rooms in it.

The houses are, in general, of one story, many of them are built of wood, and almost all are covered with *atap*; this mode of building is adopted because of the dreadful and frequent earthquakes to which this country is subject. The houses are commodious enough, according to the custom of the country, but have not a very elegant appearance. Instead of glass, frames of matted cane are used for the sake of air, and likewise I believe not a little in order to save expence. Most of them have
little

little gardens, or large square yards behind them, in which there is commonly a well of very good water.

Springs are very numerous here ; going only along the shores of the bay, and scooping, where there is the least bit of beach, a little hole with one's hand in the sand, it is immediately filled with sweet fresh water, and that even sometimes at no greater distance than five or six feet from the salt water. This owes its cause, in all probability, to the nature of the soil, which is every where porous and sandy, and imbibes the rain almost as soon as it has fallen : I have seen that in most places, after the most incessant and violent rains, which lasted for three days, and raised torrents of water rushing through the town, there have been no visible marks left, at the end of only two hours, of its having rained at all : and I was assured that it was exactly the same case, when the rains continued for three or four weeks, as frequently happened during the bad monsoons.

The rivers which run along or through the town, or the adjacent negrees, are, the *Bato gadja*, or *Elephant's river* ; the *Way*
tomo,

tomo, which runs between the town, to the s.w. and the negrees *Soya* and *Mandbika*, to the n.e. ; the *Way nitoe*, which divides the negree of *Italong* in two ; and the *Way atlat*, which runs between this last and the Moorish negree.

The three first have their source in the mountains of *Soya*, and the last descends chiefly from the *Roodenberg*.

I have before observed that these rivers, in the good monsoons, or dry seasons, can only be looked upon as little rivulets, moistening but a small part of their beds ; but that in the bad monsoons, or rainy seasons, they swell up to a considerable height, and run with such force and rapidity, upon the rain continuing any time, that they carry away all before them, and even the bridges which are built over them.

Just above the town, upon the *Bato gadja*, a garden has been laid out, and a good house built, by Governor VAN DER STEL, at the expence of the Company, which very much resembles that called *Vergleegen*, which his brother, when governor at the *Cape of Good Hope*, made in *Hottentot Holland*, also at the
expence

expende of the Company. This is the only garden of confideration that I faw at *Amboyna*, though there are, here and there, a few others, which are called gardens, but which folety confift of a wood of fago-trees, and a plantation of cocoanut-trees ; that, however, of *Hative* excepted, which at prefent belongs to the engineer VAN WAGNER, and which may be called a handsome piece of ground for *Amboyna*.

As the keeping of the firftmentioned garden was a confiderable annual expence to the Company, the government at *Batavia* thought fit, in the year 1769, to transfer the fame to the governor for the time being, for a certain fum of money, for which his fucceffor is obliged, in his turn, to take it over : Mr. VAN DER V—— paid, if I am not miftaken, two thoufand rixdollars * for it, to the Company.

Near it is a menagery, in which are kept, among others, fome very beautiful fpeckled deer.

The governors generally refide at this place, when there is nothing to call for their

* About 4,400*l.* fterling. T.

presence at the town, or when there are no ships in the bay.

The chief, if not the only fortress, which the Company have at *Amboyna*, is the castle or fort; which, after it was rebuilt, was called *New Victoria*, as the old fort called *Victoria*, which had been erected by the Portuguese, being an oblong square, with four bastions, was so much damaged by the earthquake of the year 1755, that it was thought more eligible to build an entire new fort, than to repair the old one.

It stands close to the waterside, a little to the west of the mouth of the *Way Nitoe*, and exactly opposite to the road, where ships commonly lie at anchor.

I took much pains to procure a plan of it, but the strict integrity of the present acting engineer, Mr. H. E. VON WAGNER, was proof against the solicitations of friendship, and however much, in other things, he proved both willing and anxious to give me every testimony of his inclination to render me service, I could not, in this instance, persuade him to lend me a plan of the fort for ever so short a time, in order to take a copy of it; I cannot therefore say
any

any thing respecting the dimensions of the works, and shall only describe the general appearance of the fort.

Its shape is very irregular ; on the land-side, it has three entire and one demi-bastion, which, with their curtains, form part of a regular heptagon : on the water-side, there are two bastions, in the curtain between which stands the watergate, in the same manner, as the landgate open between the two opposite bastions, on the land-side.

The curtain, or battery, which runs north from the easternmost land-bastion, is met by a similar one coming from the easternmost sea-bastion, making an obtuse angle of between 90° and 100° , so that the line of defence of the face of the easternmost land-bastion runs exactly upon this angle ; and the flanks of these bastions are therefore without defence, which is an unpardonable fault in the first construction of the fort, as the nature of the ground did not require this irregular mode of fortification : Mr. von WAGNER intended to remedy this fault, as much as possible, by making a detached bastion before the angle made by the
two

two batteries, by which these two flanks would be defended.

From the demi-bastion, on the west side, a battery runs northward, and being met by another coming from the westernmost sea-bastion, they form together an inverted obtuse angle.

The sea-bastions, which are liable to be attacked by the greatest force, are carried up somewhat higher, and are rather larger than the others ; they are covered with bonnets in the middle of their faces, in order to be the better provided against an enfilade.

A hornwork extends before these bastions, and covers the curtain between them ; its projecting angles command the shore both above and below the castle, by which a landing any where near it is rendered very difficult, if not impossible.

All these works are built of brick, for which purpose many brickkilns have been erected here, where very good bricks are made.

They were then about making a covered-way, to begin from the flank of the western
sea-

sea-bastion, and to run round the fortress to the other side of the eastern sea-bastion.

The whole is encircled by a wet ditch, which is the same that formerly run round the outworks of the old fort.

This is certainly the best fortification belonging to the Company, that I have seen, in India. Yet it is, by no means, favourably situated, on account of the near neighbourhood of the *Roodenberg*, and the lowness of its site, by which, in my opinion, it would not be able to make any long or effectual resistance, if the enemy were once landed, and could get their artillery on shore, so as to erect batteries on the surrounding heights.

The same defect occurs likewise on the side that looks towards the bay ; for ships, if properly moored, can enfilade most of the lines of defence, at high water ; the water rising here, in spring tides, full ten feet ; and the hornwork, which is full one-half lower than the main body of the place, is consequently still more exposed.

I purposely add the supposition that the ships be properly moored ; for the greatest strength

strength of the place rests upon the impracticability of bringing ships to attack it in a proper situation. As there is no anchoring-ground except close to the shore, the ships are exposed to the fire of forty or fifty pieces of heavy artillery long before they are able to let go their anchors, and put springs upon their cables, in order to haul the vessels round; and all this is not so easily done under such a fire, if the artillery upon the batteries be but well served.

The nature of the bay too, the prevailing winds which blow here, and the calms which are not unfrequent, together with the strong currents setting continually in and out of the bay, are formidable obstacles to prevent ships from forming their attack, whilst under sail, and much more from making good a landing here; for which reason a landing must be attempted at a more convenient place, which might perhaps be found, either in the bight near *Hamahoesé*, or in the *Portuguese* bay.

And, although the old fort of *Victoria* is not to be compared, in point of strength, to the present one; I do not believe that our people would ever have succeeded, in the
year

year 1605, in getting possession of *Amboyna*, or rather of the peninsula of *Leytimor*, attacking it, at least, as they did, at this place, had the Portuguese defended this settlement with the same bravery as they did their other possessions, and not given it up in so cowardly a manner.

There is another great defect, at least it appeared in that light to me, namely, the great extent of the fort. It is so large, that if all the works were to be properly manned, all the military to be found here, would scarcely be sufficient to defend one half of them. Moreover, no less than a hundred pieces of cannon are requisite to provide all the batteries as they ought to be, and there are no more than fifty or sixty cannoneers in the whole province.

In order to fortify the bay still more, the engineer, VON WAGNER, has proposed to erect two new batteries, viz. one, a short mile south-west of *Victoria*, at the mouth of the *Elephants*-river, to command the part of the bay, called the *Vrymans*, or *free merchants'* road, and to be able to rake the ships which may lie to the westward of the castle; and another upon the point of the
Laha,

Laba, for which all ships coming up the bay must steer in a strait direction, in order to keep close in with the windward shore; which proposal has met with the approbation of the supreme government at *Batavia*.

Perhaps another battery near or upon the point of *Alang*, would be of still greater utility, for ships entering the bay must equally steer strait for, and very close along, it, in order not to be in danger of being driven to leeward of the bay, by the currents.

I did not see any of the other little forts which the Company have at *Hila*, *Sapoura*, *Harouko*, and *Larike*; but, according to the information I received respecting them, they are of little consequence, and at most strong enough to keep the natives in awe*.

The

* The other forts in this province, are: upon the island of *Amboyna*, Fort *Amsterdam*, which mounts sixteen guns, at *Hila*; Fort *Rotterdam*, at *Larike*; the redoubt *Middleburg*, at the *Pas of Baguewala*; and a small triangular fort near *Oerien*, called *Flushing*: upon *Bouro*, the pallisadoed fort *Defence*, mounting fourteen iron guns; upon *Manipa*, the redoubt *Wantrouw*, or *Disrust*, of the same force; upon *Hoerwamoehil*, Fort *Hardenberg* at *Cambello*, and Fort *Overburg* at *Loeboc*; upon *Nouffalaut*, a small redoubt of four guns, called *Beverzwyck*; upon *Honimoc*, the redoubt *Velsen*, having five guns, at the

The buildings within the Fort of *New Victoria* are not yet all finished ; there are, however, already two powder-magazines, the rice and spice-warehouses, the naval storehouse, the provision - warehouse, the dwellinghouse of the comptroller of equipment, and the guardhouse at the landgate ; but no beginning has yet been made with the government-house, or the dwellings for the senior merchant, and the captain commandant of the military ; the watergate is likewise not entirely completed.

Mr. VAN DER V—— told me, that the erection of this fortress had already cost the Company two millions of gilders* ; but the engineer, VON WAGNER, stated the expence of it considerably lower.

the point of *Tetawaroe*; the redoubt *Delft*, of six guns, at *Po to*, and Fort *Duursteede* at *Sapoura* ; and upon *Oma*, Fort *Zelandia* at *Harou'o*. The capture of *Amboyna* and *Banda* by the English, will afford opportunities to us of becoming fully acquainted with every particular respecting those remote but valuable and interesting settlements. It is to be hoped that some of the gentlemen of the navy or army who went upon that expedition, will favour the public with an account of these acquisitions ; men of genius and observation are not wanting either among our naval or military officers, and a narrative of the expedition alluded to, may not only be said to be desired, but also to be expected, from some of them. T.

* About 181,200*l.* sterling. T.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

The Clove-trade.—Endeavours of the Dutch to retain it exclusively to themselves.—Attempts of the English to participate in it.—Garrisons and Establishment at AMBOYNA.—Profits and Charges of this Province.—Reflections on the Clove-trade.—Large Stock of Cloves.—Endeavoured to be diminished by Extirpations ; and by burning great Quantities.—The Hongitogt, or yearly Expedition of the Governor round CERAM, &c.—Earthquake at AMBOYNA.

THE chief, if not the sole, advantage derived to the Company from the possession of *Amboyna* and its dependencies, is the collection of cloves, and the mastery of this article to the exclusion of all other nations, by which they are enabled, at pleasure, to raise, or lower, the price.

This gave rise, at an early period, after the conquest of the island, to much jealousy and animosity between the Dutch and the English, and these disputes did not terminate with the expulsion of the latter from the island,

island, but were made a pretence, many years afterwards, for declaring war against the republic: they were not finally settled till the conclusion of the peace of *Breda*, in the year 1667.

The Company would not, however, ever have succeeded in securing to themselves the exclusive trade in this spice, which is spontaneously produced in all the adjacent *Molucca* islands, had they not endeavoured wholly to transfer, and confine, the cultivation of it to *Amboyna*; partly by subduing the princes of those islands by force of arms, and prescribing to them such conditions of peace as they found convenient, the principal of which had relation to the clove-trade, especially with respect to the kings of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*, compelling them not to sell any of the cloves, produced in their dominions, to any other nation; and partly, by forcing them, about the middle of the last century, to destroy all the clove-trees, which grew in their territories, for which they were to receive an equivalent in money.

In the same manner, the Company have entered into a contract with the king of
Bouton,

Bouton, to whose dominion many places belong, which yield spices, that he shall not only allow the extirpator, whom they dispatch every year on an expedition through the islands, to perform the service on which he is sent, but shall also afford him every assistance in doing it.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, and how far soever they may be able to extend their extirpations in the circumjacent countries, they will never be able wholly to prevent other nations from procuring spices without their intermediation. There are too many islands, and too widely dispersed, that produce these commodities, of which neither they, nor their allies, are in possession, or possibly can be, without entirely exhausting themselves by the erection of numerous fortresses, which are indispensably necessary, if all intercourse with foreign nations must be prevented*.

Thus

* However assiduous the Dutch are in the destruction of spice-trees, they never have, or can, succeed in extirpating them all. It is only in places of easy access, and near the sea, that they are generally cut down, but they grow abundantly in many retired spots of the large and woody island of *Gilolo*, in the recesses of *Ceram*, upon *Ouby*, *Myfel*, in the forests of *Bachian*, as well as upon *Cadoepan*, and many other islands,
where

Thus the English formed a settlement some years ago upon the island *Xullock*, lying north of the *Moluccas*; but as the indifferent quality of the soil, and other circumstances, did not answer their purposes in forming such an establishment, they changed it for *Balambangan*, an island on the north-east coast of *Borneo*, in order to lay the foundation there for a place of trade, whither the clandestine dealers in spice might bring their goods, and thus furnish our rivals with the articles out of which we endeavour to keep them.

where they are inaccessible to the destructive ax of the extirpator; and what is actually destroyed, is not, perhaps, the hundredth part of the trees producing the precious spices. The parties sent out on such business, generally consist of a military officer, or some civil servant belonging to the Dutch, with three or four European attendants, and perhaps twenty or thirty Bugguefs soldiers, with their officer. They generally make it a party of pleasure; and the Bugguefs officer (while the chief is regaling himself in the heat of the day) sets off to the woods with some of his men, where he executes his commission just as it suits his convenience; taking care to bring back plenty of branches, to shew his assiduity, when, perhaps, they are all from one tree. Sometimes a serjeant at an outpost, to get into favour with his chief, sends an account of his having discovered, on a certain spot, a parcel of spice-trees; with news, perhaps, at the same time, that he has destroyed them all: possibly the chief's domestics might inform him of many more such spots at hand, but they are too wise to say much on so delicate a subject. T.

The

The garrisons which the Company keep in this province, were fixed, in the year 1752, at nine hundred men, including the seamen and the pennists. His excellency, Governor MOSSEL, says, in his further memorial, written in the year 1753, that this number is sufficient, since *Amboyna* has nothing to fear from an European enemy*.

By that memorial, the profits which accrue annually to the Company upon the sale of goods, are estimated at forty thousand guilders; the proceeds of the rent of lands, excise duties, a duty of five per cent upon the sale of real property, the stamp duties, and the produce of the permits granted for the importation and exportation of private merchandize, are computed to be thirty thousand guilders; and all the receipts are, consequently, taken at seventy thousand guilders; which sum, by a further memorial of economy, was reduced to sixty-six thousand guilders: and even this latter sum is not now drawn

* In 1776-1777, the whole establishment at *Amboyna* consisted of fifty-two in civil employments, three clergymen, twenty-eight surgeons and assistants, forty-six belonging to the artillery, 174 seamen and marines, 657 soldiers, and 111 mechanics, in all 1071 Europeans; besides fifty-nine natives in the Company's service. T.

from those objects ; sixty or seventy bales of coarse piecegoods, which are annually disposed of here at an advance of from seventy to eighty per cent, the good vent whereof likewise depends much upon the success or failure of the crop of cloves, do not suffice, with the other revenues, to make up that amount.

According to the abovementioned memorial of Governor MOSSEL, the annual charges of this government ought not to exceed one hundred and eighty-five thousand guilders, in order that the defalcation on the four eastern provinces should not be more than four hundred thousand guilders a year ; but, by the latest memorial, the charges of *Amboyna* were stated at *f.*176,518. 0. 0 ; and, in the five last years, they have averaged yearly *f.*265,549. 10. 11, so that they actually amount to *f.*89,031. 10. 11 every year, more than MOSSEL stated them at*.

These,

* The calculations of General MOSSEL of the revenues and charges of the several establishments of the Dutch East-India Company, are always particularly mentioned in this work, and contrasted with the actual amounts of each in the year 1779 (that is, from the 1st of September, 1778, to the 31st of August, 1779), that year being in the books of the Company
one

These, as well as the charges of the government of *Macassar* and *Ternate*, must be defrayed out of the profits upon the cloves, nutmegs, and mace, which must, likewise, contribute towards making good the expences of the Company at *Batavia* and at home; but can any favourable expectations of future advantage be entertained on this head, when we consider the great decrease which is experienced in the sale of the first named spice? Three millions of pounds remaining still in the warehouses at *Batavia*,

one which they call *het boeljaar*, or year in which a general review is taken of all their concerns, as is done every ten years; because the calculations of that gentleman have not only formed the basis upon which the revenues and charges of each settlement, as stated in the famous *Histoire Philosophique et Politique* of Abbé RAYNAL, have been computed, but have also obtained a great and almost decisive authority in establishing the advantages or disadvantages reaped by the Dutch from their Indian possessions. In the course of this work, they frequently appear to be considerably different from the actual amount of the receipts and expenditure, and are, in fact, rather calculations of what these ought to be, than what they really are. In 1779, the charges of *Ambouyna* were *f.*201,082; and the whole of the revenues, including the profits upon the sale of goods (five per cent on the sale being allowed to the governor and second, two-thirds to the former, and one-third to the latter), amounted to no more than *f.*48,747, leaving a balance against the Company of *f.*152,335, or about 13,850*l.* sterling. T.

of

of which no more than one-fifteenth part can be annually disposed of in the Indies, together with a stock on hand in Holland, large enough to supply the consumption of Europe for the space of ten years, and the quantities of cloves that from time to time are committed to the flames by the Company, in order to lessen their superabundant stock, form proofs enough of the decrease of the clove-trade, and do not require further animadversion than the bare mention of them*

On

* Every clove-tree is calculated to produce annually, upon an average, two, or two and a half, pounds of cloves, so that the yearly crop is at least one million pounds per annum from the 500,000 clove-trees allowed to be cultivated; much larger crops are frequently made, though in some years they fall materially short, and yield but a trifling quantity. One of the largest sales of cloves made in Holland, was in the year 1714, when 435,427 pounds were sold; in 1758, no more than 200,000 pounds were sold; in 1778, 234,271 pounds; and in 1788, 400,000 pounds; and about 150,000, or 200,000 pounds are annually disposed of in the Indies. The quantities of cloves always remaining over in the hands of the Company, notwithstanding their continual extirpations, must, therefore, be immense; they endeavour to moderate this superfluity by burning large quantities of spices from time to time; Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE says, in his Observations upon Holland, that a Dutchman, who had been at the Spice-islands, told him, that he saw, at one time, three heaps of nutmegs burnt, each of
which

On a superficial view, when we are told that every pound of cloves only stands the Company in $4\frac{3}{4}$ stivers, the mace in $9\frac{1}{2}$ stivers, and the nutmegs about half as cheap as the cloves, it should seem that the Spice-islands

which was more than an ordinary church could hold; in 1760, M. BEAUMARE saw at *Amsterdam*, near the admiralty, a fire of spices, the fuel of which was valued at 1,000,000 of livres, and as much was to be burnt on the day following; the translator of this work has himself been witness to the burning of large quantities of cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon, upon the little island of *Newland*, near *Middleburgh*, in *Zea-land*, the aromatic scent whereof perfumed the air for many miles around. Although the Dutch have thus, by all the means in their power, endeavoured to counteract the indulgent bounty of heaven, they have not, in any instance, attained their object; for, exclusive of the impossibility of preventing the spontaneous production of spices in the extensive woods of hundreds of islands, of which they scarcely know the names or situation, and the constant clandestine trade carried on in spices, by the Papuas, Cerammers, Bouginese, and Chinese, the consumption of, and demands for, cloves, have so much decreased, that the monopoly is no more worth the expences of retaining it exclusively: and in regard to nutmegs, they have been the dupes of their own avarice; for, confining as much as possible, the cultivation of that spice to the islands of *Banda*, it was nearly annihilated there in the year 1778, by a violent hurricane and earthquake, and few supplies of consideration have been obtained for several years afterwards. When Admiral RAINIER took possession of *Amboyna*, in 1796, he found, in the treasury, 81,112 rixdollars, and in store 515,940lb. of cloves. The importations into England, by the East-

islands afford an inexhaustible source of riches, since the selling price exceeds the cost in so uncommon a degree; but if we go farther, and consider that these three articles of trade must bear the whole expence of all the four eastern provinces, to which must be added the charges of seven or eight ships, employed in fetching them, it will be found that they, in fact, cost very dear.*

The great superfluity of cloves has, indeed, been endeavoured to be prevented by diminishing the number of clove-trees, from

East-India Company, since the capture of the Spice-islands, till the present time (October, 1798), have been as follows:

cloves, 817,312 pounds.

nutmegs, 93,732 do.

mace, 46,730 do.

besides considerable quantities of each in private trade and privilege goods, namely,

100 casks	}	cloves, weighing, we suppose, about 30,000 <i>lb</i> .		
20 casks				
81 casks	}	nutmegs,	do.	36,000
76 casks				
29 chests				
7 boxes	}	mace,	do.	240,000
12 casks				
167 bask ^t .				
1131 chests				

7.

* See *Secrete bedenkingen over den waaren staat der Nederlandsche Compagnie*, by J. MOSSEL, Sections liii. and liv. S.

time

time to time, by extirpations; but by this means the Company ruin their Amboynese subjects; and if fortune should ever again favour them, and the vent of this article be again as large as heretofore, they would find that they were possessed of the soil for producing them, but not of clove-trees, which require more years to arrive at maturity, than moments to be destroyed.

I should now have to make some mention of the *bongitogt*, or yearly expedition of the governor of *Amboyna*, with a fleet of *corrocorros*, round *Ceram*, and the neighbouring islands, if VALENTYN had not so amply related every particular of it, that I can only add, that it did not take place during the time I was at *Amboyna*, the month of October being the period appointed for it.*

Between

* The *bongi*, or fleet of armed *corrocorros* of *Amboyna*, was instituted by Governor HOUTMAN, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the month of October, the fairest season of the year, they assemble in the bay of *Amboyna*; all the different *rajabs*, and *orancayos*, are then bound to appear with their *corrocorros*, in order to accompany the governor in this annual expedition round the islands under his jurisdiction. It is undertaken for the purpose of examining into, and deciding upon, all disputes that may arise among
the

Between the 18th and 19th of April,
we felt here an earthquake, which lasted
full

the Indians that are subject to the Company; of preventing and discovering all illicit trade; and of destroying such spice-trees as are found growing in places where they are not allowed: one chief purpose, however, is, that numbers of the common people, who are obliged, by their tenure, to serve the Company during one month in the year, are by this means taken away from the collection of the crop of cloves which falls in about this time, and which is, in consequence, much lessened for want of hands, it being, as we have before seen, a great object of policy in the Company to prevent a too abundant supply. They are obliged to maintain themselves during this expedition, which lasts five or six weeks, except that the Company allow each man one and a half, or two pounds of rice per day; and to the *orangcayos*, when they set out, three gallons of arrack, twelve pounds of pork, or beef, and a measure of rice. This expedition has, at different times, been neglected; but the annual performance of it has been frequently enjoined by the government at *Batavia*, and in particular in the years 1680, 1688, and 1693, when the coasts of *Ceram* were greatly infested by the incursions of the Papuas. The *Hongi*-fleet generally consists of forty, fifty, or sixty vessels; when complete, it should consist of sixty-one *corrocorros*, viz.

- 6 from the island of *Oma*
- 3 from the coast of *Ceram*, under *Oma*
- 4 from the island *Manipa*
- 14 from the district of Fort *Victoria*, upon *Amboyna*
- 6 from the peninsula of *Hitoe*
- 1 from the coast of *Ceram*, under *Hitoe*
- 8 from the island *Honimooa*
- 3 from the island *Noussa-laut*

8 from

full five minutes. The dull rumbling noise that accompanied it, and the undulating motion,

8 from the island *Ceram*
 3 from the district of *Larike*
 and 5 from the island of *Bouro*

61

If any village is unable to join the fleet with their appointed *corrocorros*, or is excused from the service by the governor, they must burn a kiln of lime for the Company; and if they wilfully neglect it, they are subject to arbitrary punishment. The governor used formerly to carry his flag on the *corrocorro* of the rajah of *Noussanivel*, but the rajah of *Titarway* has now that privilege; this *corrocorro* is one of four *gnadjos*, or ranks of paddlers, and is provided with two or three handsome apartments for the accommodation of the governor, who is attended by a guard of fifty or sixty foldiers. The fleet is divided into three divisions, the first being all *corrocorros* of Christian chiefs, the second of Mahomedans, and the third partly of Christians and partly of Pagan chiefs. In order to give an idea of the force of such a fleet, we subjoin a statement, from VALENTYN, of that which went on the *Hongi* expedition of the year 1706, under Governor VAN DER STEL; it consisted of fifty-six *corrocorros*, namely,

Seven of four <i>gnadjos</i> , or banks of paddlers (<i>quadriremes</i>).									
<i>corro- corros.</i>	manned with				<i>corro- corros.</i>	manned with			
	paddlers.	other men.	swi- vels.	muf- que- toons.		paddlers.	other men.	swi- vels.	muf- que- toons.
I	77	24	2	1	I	64	20	0	15
I	71	36	1	5	I	60	20	2	0
I	67	36	0	2	I	60	16	2	2
I	64	22	0	0					

corro-

motion, seemed to run in a direction from s.w. to n.e. The thermometers did not

Forty-nine of three *gnadjos* (*triremes*).

<i>corro- corros.</i>	manned with		armed with		<i>corro- corros.</i>	manned with		armed with	
	paddlers.	other men.	swi-vels.	muf-que-toons.		paddlers.	other men.	swi-vels.	muf-que-toons.
I	95	18	I	2	I	55	16	4	0
I	70	20	3	3	I	55	12	I	0
I	70	20	0	I	I	55	10	0	I
I	70	12	I	0	I	54	22	0	0
I	70	10	I	I	I	54	7	0	0
I	65	25	0	2	I	53	18	2	3
I	65	21	I	I	I	53	18	I	I
I	62	20	4	0	I	53	10	2	I
I	61	24	3	0	I	53	10	I	I
I	61	16	I	I	I	50	25	I	4
I	60	20	2	3	I	50	20	I	3
I	60	20	2	2	I	50	20	0	2
I	60	20	I	3	I	50	20	0	0
I	60	10	I	I	I	50	20	0	0
I	60	10	I	0	I	50	13	0	5
I	60	10	0	I	I	50	13	0	0
I	59	15	0	0	I	50	10	0	0
I	58	26	2	I	I	48	16	I	0
I	58	20	0	0	I	47	25	I	I
I	58	15	I	6	I	44	18	I	2
I	58	12	0	4	I	38	16	2	2
I	56	14	0	I	I	38	7	I	0
I	55	22	2	2	I	31	10	I	0
I	55	20	2	2	I	27	8	I	I
I	55	20	2	0					

Total 56 3182 978 59 89

undergo

undergo any change before, during, or after the shock. The air was clear, and the weather was dead calm. The water in the bay was also much agitated: my ship, which lay, at that time, at the pierhead, received a very violent shock, being impelled forwards, and driven back again, with great force. The northeast wall of the newly-erected rice-warehouse in the castle was rent, by this earthquake, in an horizontal direction, just below where the rafters were inserted that support the roof, forty feet in length; and a summerhouse made of bamboos, closely covered with shrubbery, which stood behind my house, was thrown down; besides which, no damage was found to have been done any where.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from AMBOYNA.—View of the Island AMBLAUW.—Of the Islands of ST. MATTHEW.—Of the TOUCAN-BESSIS.—Of CADOE PAN.—Of BOUTON.—Of CABYNE and LIZARD-Island.—Of SALEYER.—CELEBES.—Passage of the BUDGEROONS.—The Island TANAKEKE.—View of the TONYNS, or TUNNY Islands.—Of GREAT SOLOMBO.—Of MADURA.—MANDELIQUE.—Anchorage off JAPARA.—Navigation along the Coast of JAVA.—Anchorage in the Road of BATAVIA.—Observations respecting the Navigation to AMBOYNA.—Great Inaccuracy of the Charts.—Strong Currents.—Calms.

AFTER my ship had been unladen, and had taken in a new cargo, we left the road ; we were the whole of that day, and the following night, in working down the bay, keeping always on the windward side, which was the shore of *Leytimor*, as, on entering, it had been that of *Hitoe*.

On the 9th of June, at sunrise, we were
breast

abreast of the Portuguese bay, and at ten o'clock, A.M. we were out at sea.

At sunset we got sight of the island *Amblauw*, and on the next morning, of the island *Bouro*, abreast of us, to N.N.E.

On the 11th, in the evening, we saw the islands of *St. Matthew*, from the maintop, and lay-by during the night, on account of our vicinity to the *Toucan-bessis*.

In the morning of the next day, we again pursued our course, but made but little sail, as the air was very thick, by the rain, and we had no good view, in order not to fall unexpectedly upon the *Toucan-bessis*; at seven o'clock, however, we suddenly saw them before us, about a league ahead; we instantly tacked and stood off, till the weather cleared up a little, and till, at eight o'clock, we could pursue our voyage again. We passed those dangerous islands, and had likewise a view of the island *Cadoepan*, where it is said that many cloves are produced; steering for the east point of *Bouton*, which we doubled about midnight.

On the 13th, at sunset, we saw the island *Cabyne* and *Hagediffen*, or *Lizard-island*; on the morning of the next day, the
island

island *Saley*, and two hours afterwards the coast of *Celebes*, with the little islands the *Budgeroons* lying between them; at ten o'clock, A.M. we passed this narrow strait in safety, running between the southernmost and middlemost of the *Budgeroons*, at the distance of one-eighth of a league from the former.

In the afternoon we sounded, for the first time, in thirty-four fathoms, stiff clay, being then abreast of *Boele-comba*, about three leagues off shore.

Sailing by the lead, during the night, along the coast of *Celebes*, we were, on the morning of the next day, by the island *Tanakeka*; whence we steered our course so as to pass the *Laars*, or *Boot*, at a proper place. At noon we saw the *Tonyns*, or *Tunny* islands, and at sunset the islands of *Salinas*, bearing north, five leagues, sounding continually with a line of twenty-five fathoms, without striking ground upon the *Laars*.

On the 16th we again struck soundings, which we afterwards kept.

On the 17th we got sight of the island *Great Solombo*, which we found to be of a moderate

moderate height, and placed too far south in the charts, by thirteen minutes, or three leagues and a quarter. Hence we steered, in order to make the island *Madura*, of which we came in sight the next day at noon.

On the 20th, at sunrise, we passed *Mandelique*, and anchored at two o'clock, P.M. in the outer road of *Japara*, and sending our boat on shore for refreshments, we received a plentiful supply the next day from the worthy resident, Mr. VAN DER BEKE ; at the same time I received information that my ship, *Ouwwerkerk*, was appointed, by the government of *Batavia*, to go a voyage to *Surat*.

In the afternoon we saw the point of *Pamalang*, and the lofty summit of Mount *Tagal*.

On the 23d, the hill of *Cheribon* was abreast, and the point of *Indramaye* nearly ahead of us ; in the afternoon we saw the *Boompjtjens* islands, and in the evening we reckoned that we had passed the rock upon which the ship called *the Castle of Woerden* was lost.

The following day, in the morning, we
saw

saw the high trees of *Sedary*, and at sunset we came to an anchor off *Murderer's Point*, and in sight of the island *Edam*.

On the 25th, at eleven o'clock, A.M. we got under sail, and passing between the little islands of *Leyden* and *Enkhuizen*, we steered for the road of *Batavia*, where we cast anchor at three o'clock, P.M.

Before I go any farther, I think it necessary to say something respecting the navigation to '*Amboyna*', as it is deserving of much attention, and has always been held a very dangerous voyage.

There are three circumstances which often unite to make it very hazardous, and are the chief causes of the difficulty and peril which are complained of :

First, the bad and inaccurate charts of this passage, which are made use of ; and which are certainly extremely defective, notwithstanding the governor general, *Mossel*, alleges, in his further memorial, that at that time (the year 1753), the charts had been so improved, that, for two or three years before, none of the ships trading to the east had been lost. I am therefore not at all surprized, that, before that time, ships
were

were lost every year, if they were without any other aid than that of such deceitful guides. If I may judge from the charts which are thus pretended to be improved, and which are at present given to the ships that perform that voyage, they must undoubtedly have plunged many an intrepid seaman, who had not before ploughed these dangerous seas, into uncertainty and despair, and have driven him headlong into the midst of unknown and unavoidable dangers.

The first and chiefest requisite of a good sea-chart is, that in it the islands and coasts be accurately laid down in their proper latitudes; and all the charts from *Java* to *Amboyna*, are glaringly defective in this particular; one island is placed too far north, another too far south, and this is occasioned by the observations, whence these charts have been made, not being exact. This might be adduced as a disculpation of the hydrographer, were it not that the navigators of later times have constantly noted down, and pointed out these defects in the journals of their *Amboyna* voyages. My observations agreed with three of them, which I took with me for reference, when
I went

I went to *Amboyna*. Yet has not all this sufficed to produce the removal of this hurtful defect.

The second necessary requisite of a chart is, that the true direction of the coasts, and the exact positions of the islands, and their bearings with respect to the nearest land, be duly and accurately attended to. The defective state of the charts in question, in this particular too, is not a little complained of, and remains equally unrectified, although many reports have been made by navigators, on the subject. And, lastly, that the respective distances be laid down as exactly as possible, which has, in these charts, been totally neglected; of which glaring defects, I have, from time to time, made mention in my journal.

The second cause of the danger and difficulty of the eastern navigation, are the currents, which set with so much violence between the islands and along the coasts of this archipelago, that if I had not experienced it myself, I should scarcely credit the account: in addition to this, they have no regular course, and sometimes run contrary to the wind, and at uncertain times.

Add

Add to these, as a third cause, the calms which prevail so much in these climates, and the dangers which surround navigators in this passage will be very manifest; for vessels are driven, in dead calm weather, by the violent currents, upon unknown shoals and rocks, so that the most experienced seamen is unable, in such cases, to save the ship and cargo entrusted to him.

It has likewise been observed, that such of the Company's captains as have performed several voyages to the eastern provinces are, for this reason, continued in that navigation, which is not disadvantageous for the interest of the Company, but unfortunate for those captains, as these voyages afford but little profit, and they do not, in consequence, feel much attachment for the service of the Company.

CHAPTER IX.

*Departure from BATAVIA.—Passage to SURAT.—
Signs of Land.—Curious Species of Mollusca.—
Zodiacal Light.—Watersnakes.—View of the
bigb Land of BAZAIM.—Of Cape ST. JOHN.—
Of the Pike PISCADORES.—Directions for sailing
into the Road of SURAT.—Anchorage there.*

I HAVE before said, that the ship *Ouwerkerk* was appointed to sail to *Surat*, and as it had been resolved that two ships should be sent thither this year, the ship *Overhoud*, commanded by Captain PETER ANGEL-OORST, was ordered to proceed to *Surat*, in company with mine.

All possible expedition was used to get both vessels in readiness half a month earlier than ships bound on that voyage generally are, because, in the preceding year, the ship *the Lady Gertrude*, that had cleared the Straits of *Sunda* on the 28th of August, did not reach *Surat* before the beginning of December.

The

The crew of each ship consisted of seventy-eight European sailors, twenty-five Moors or Lascars, and twenty-five native, or Bouginese, soldiers, whose military abilities almost extended so far as to fire off a musquet. I had besides ten Bantammers on board, who were going on a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and took their passage by my ship.

Thus equipped, we left the road of *Batavia* on the 4th of August, steering between the shore of *Java* and the island *Onrust*, afterwards passing the islands *Middelburg*, *De Combuis*, or *Furnace*, and *Menscheneeters*, or *Cannibal*-island, and, at sunset, we came to an anchor in sight of the islands which lie in the bay of *Bantam*.

At daybreak, on the 7th, we weighed anchor, and steering for the point of *Bantam*, were abreast of it at noon.

An hour before sunset, Captain ANGEL-OORST hailed me, and informed me that the looseness of his rigging would not allow him to carry sail any longer during the stiff south-westerly gale which we then had; and we, therefore, came to an anchor under *Geertruida*-island.

Here, on this and the following day, we
met

met with a regular current, changing twice in twenty-four hours, and setting s.w. and n.e. at the rate of four to five leagues in a watch; but the stream setting to the s.w. was the strongest.

On the next day, we could not again get under sail till towards noon, when the north-east current had subsided: at four o'clock, p.m. we had passed the islands *Dwars-in-den-weg*, or *Thwart-the-way*, and the *Brabandsch boedje*; and as we had determined to run into the bay of *Jeritte*, we endeavoured, by plying to windward, as the wind was at s.w. to reach that anchoring-place; but as the wind blew fresher every moment, I was afraid of coming to an anchor, and, therefore, kept under weigh during the night, with very little sail.

The following day, we again worked farther on towards *Jeritte*, and cast anchor about a league from that place.

We remained here at anchor till the 16th of August, when we took our last observation of *Princes-iland* at sunset, and losing sight of the same, as well as of the land of *Java*, on the next day, we steered w.s.w. according to the Company's sailing-orders,
till

till the 24th, when being in about the latitude of 10° south, we changed our course to due west.

On the following day, in the afternoon, having got into longitude 82° east from *Teneriffe*, and our compasses shewing 7° N.W. variation, we then, agreeable to the abovementioned sailing-orders, steered due north.

On the 8th of September, we thought that we saw the island *Gracia* from the tops, yet we could not ascertain the reality of it, as the weather was showery; in order, however, not to run any danger, we bore away from it in the evening; and resuming our course at two o'clock in the morning, we could see no appearance of land at daybreak.

The day before, and especially in the evening, we had seen many birds, which confirmed us in the opinion that we were not far distant from some island. Our compasses then shewed full 7° N.W. variation, and we were in $7\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south latitude.

On the 14th, we lost the easterly winds, which we had had from the commencement of the voyage, and met with westerly gales, being $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south of the line, which we passed
on

on the 16th, with a northwesterly variation of about 6° , steering N. by W. in order not to be driven upon the *Maldivé* islands, by the currents, which, in this time of the year, set towards the east, in which direction from us those islands lay.

It was a long time before we got as far as 13° north latitude. Continued calms, which had lasted seven days, and previous thereto contrary winds, together with currents setting to the south, were the obstacles which prevented the more speedy prosecution of our voyage.

On the 13th of October, we saw some floating seaweed, and, the day after, we caught a quail; a bird, which, it is said, is always met with on the coast of *Arabia*.

The signs of land still continued on the following day; and besides these, we saw many little round white sea-animals, of various sizes, some being as large as a guilder-piece*, and others very little bigger than a dubbeltje†. I had some taken up

* Which is somewhat less in size than a half-crown-piece. *T.*

† Or Dutch two-penny-piece, about as large as our sixpence. *T.*

out of the sea, in order to take an accurate view of them. At first, they appeared no more than inanimate marine productions; but having stood still for some time in bowls of water, they proved to belong to the animal kingdom. That which, floating in the sea, appeared like a piece of money, was a hard, bony, round substance, of about one-tenth of an inch in thickness, yet more or less flexible, divided on the upper side into three circles, the outermost of which was of a beautiful pearl-colour, the two others were a little darker; fine strokes, like rays, close to each other, of a brighter hue than the circles, ran from the center to the circumference, and were crossed by others, running in a wavy direction, but exactly following the circular shape of the whole substance: innumerable animalculæ, like polypi, the longest of which was not one-fourth of an inch in length, spread themselves out from the outer edge; some of them had two branches upon one trunk, that spread out like a fork, but most were single. The glass which I had to view these mollusca, was but of small powers, yet I perceived by it that each of the abovementioned polypi were

were studded with several little sky-blue spots, and their bodies were, lengthwise, in the form of a prism, the sides of which, being convex, appeared of a transparent blue. At the under part of this bony substance (for this creature always swam with what has just been described uppermost) appeared an infinite collection of vermicular forms, closely intertwined together, of a dirty white colour, and which I was not able to separate from each other. In the middle was a little lump, about a line in size, of an irregular shape, in which sometimes an expansion and contraction were visible, as in the heart of a live animal. When the polypi were fully expanded, the whole appeared very much like a passion-flower.

I was not able to keep one of these creatures alive for longer than three or four hours; during that time many of the polypi fell off from their common parent stock, and sank down to the bottom of the bowl, without the least appearance of life remaining in them.

The seeing of all these signs of land, made us suspect that we were much more to the westward than we reckoned; and some observations

servations of the longitude, taken according to the manner of M. DE LA CAILLE, confirmed this supposition. On the 15th, likewise, in the evening, at sunset, we saw something to the northwestward, that bore much the appearance of land ; but not finding any bottom with a line of one hundred fathoms, we attributed that appearance to the weather. It, however, afterwards appeared, that our conjectures were well-founded, and that, at that time, we were not far from the coast of *Arabia Felix*.

On the 24th of October, I saw, for the first time, the zodiacal light, in the morning, at half past three o'clock, being two hours and a half before the sun was to rise. The horizon was beset with clouds, to the height of 3° to 4° , and the light appeared above them, standing like a cone, upon a broad basis, of 15° to 20° , shooting upwards, and ending in a point, about 35° or 40° above the horizon : the light was dim, but very distinguishable, as it was then new moon, and the night, consequently, dark. We were then in the north latitude of 20° .

The calms, and light airs of wind, which we here met with, caused us to make little progress

progreſs in our voyage, and it was not before the 3d of November, that we ſtruck foundings in fifty fathoms. We ſaw many water-fnakes that day, but did not perceive the leaſt change in the colour of the water, no more than on the following day, although we were then fifteen or twenty leagues nearer to the land.

On the 5th of November, we let drop our anchor in twenty-four fathoms, becauſe both wind and ſtream were againſt us; they, however, changed in our favour that evening, by which we were again enabled to follow our route.

On the day after, at half paſt nine o'clock, A.M. we ſaw the high land of *Bazaim*, and in the afternoon, we made Cape *St. John*, from which we computed that we were fix or ſeven leagues diſtant, and the pike *Piſcadores*; we alſo thought we ſaw the iſland *Salſet*.

The pike *Piſcadores* is here, beſides the latitude, the beſt mark for making Cape *St. John*; but it lies very far inland, and appears rather too ſmall, on account of the diſtance, ſoon to get ſight of it: it is called the pike, on account of its ſharp ſummit; but

but one may err here, in this respect, as there is a mountain, somewhat more southerly, situated near the high land of *Bazaim*, which equally appears with a lofty summit, but this does not lie so far inland.

The beach is very flat here, for soundings in fifty fathoms are met with, at the distance of forty leagues west of Cape *St. John*.

From that promontory to the road of *Surat*, the track lies N.N.E. between the continent and the sea-banks, which lie about seven leagues off. You must keep in the depth of sixteen and eighteen fathoms, hard clay bottom, till a little hill, which stands at a short distance to the north of the city of *Daman*, bears south of east, and you may then steer for the land till in ten or nine fathoms, sailing afterwards along it at the distance of one and a half, or two leagues.

The land is very low, and interspersed with trees. When you see the tower of *Sualy*, which is a lofty white monument, at the north point of the river of *Surat*, keep it N. or N. by W. and run strait for the road; the ships that lie at anchor there, are discerned soon enough, to steer a proper course towards them.

We

We anchored there on the 10th of November, at half past three o'clock, P.M. after the Company's schooner, the *Young Peter*, had been on board of us, in the forenoon, with the comptroller of equipment, to fetch the Company's papers.

CHAPTER X.

Province of GUZURAT.—Decay of the Mogul Empire.—Situation of SURAT.—The River TAPI, or CHEDDER.—Banks of Sand in it.—Esteemed holy by the Gentoos.—High Tides.—The Road.—Monsoons.—Observations on the Temperature of the Weather.—Experimental Proof of the Dryness of the Atmosphere.—Intolerable Stench in the City.—Fertility and high State of Cultivation of the surrounding Country.

THE province of *Guzurat**, in which is situated the city of *Surat*, was formerly an independent kingdom, although of no very

* According to the memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER, the name of *Guzurat* signifies properly *Gold-Surat*, of which *Amedabab* is the capital, and *Surat* the chief seaport. S.

This is a fanciful, or rather a laughable, derivation of an Indian proper name, from an European appellative, something like Dean SWIFT's satirical etymology of *Archimedes* from *Hark ye, maids*, and *Alexander the Great* from *All eggs under the grate*. Dr. VINCENT derives the name of the province of *Guzurat* from the Arabic *geziru*, a peninsula; others think that it was so named from the mass of its inhabitants being of the *Guzer* caste, cowherds. T.

great

great extent ; but having been conquered, in the year 1565 *, by the emperor ACBAR, it now constitutes one of the western provinces of the empire of the Great Mogul. The present emperor is ALEM GHIER, the second of that name ; but he has no power ; as this empire, formerly so potent, which comprehended, according to the imperial records, one-and-twenty extensive provinces, two hundred and four populous cities, five ridges of mountains, and five thousand and forty-six *pergunnabs*, or districts, containing towns and villages, and the yearly customary revenues from which, paid into the imperial treasury, amounted to 251,323,851½ rupees, or *f*.376,985,772¼, about three hundred and seventy-seven millions of Dutch guilders †, has now been so torn by internal commotions, that the Great Mogul retains only the mere name of emperor, unsupported by any real authority or power.

AURENZEBE, who died in the year 1707, exalted the Mogul power to the pinnacle of glory ; but his successors, not possessing his

* According to THEVENOT. S. VALENTYN and others say 1568. T.

† *Memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER.* S.

abilities,

abilities, could not maintain it in the splendid state in which he left it to them ; and his children and grandchildren exhausting the land by their civil wars for the possession of the sovereign authority, this powerful empire was shaken to its foundation by the invasion of the Persian shah, THAMAS KOULI KHAN, in the year 1739, after which it never recovered its ancient splendour. It remained always exposed to the incursions of the surrounding nations. Moreover, when its sovereigns became more and more effeminate, and withdrew themselves from the active administration of the affairs of the empire, the nabobs, soubahs, and other great men, arrogated to themselves, in a great measure, the sovereignty over those provinces, of which they were the delegated governors, and in which they have maintained themselves till the present day, save in those parts where the English have introduced themselves by force, and where the appointment and deposition of the nabobs depend upon the good-will of that nation.

Thus, AHMED ABDALLAH, chief, or prince, of the Patans, marched to *Dehli*, in the year 1757, and took the Great Mogul,

ALEM

ALEM GHIER *, and all his omrahs, prisoners; and after having kept possession of the place for some time, and collected as much treasure as he could find, he sent for the emperor out of prison, and placed him again upon the throne; but this unhappy monarch did not long survive his restoration to the imperial dignity, for he was treacherously murdered, in the year 1795, by order of his grand vizier, SHAH ABADIN CHAN †; but the abovementioned prince of the Patans, being displeased with the conduct of this traitor, attacked and defeated him and his allies, and placed his son TIMUR, whom he had made king of *Lahore* in his former expedition, upon the imperial seat of *Dehli*.

Surat lies, according to the French observations, in $21^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude, which differs about $6'$ from our several times repeated observations made while in the road.

It stands on the left or south bank of the

* ALLUMGIRE SANI. 7.

† Otherwise GHAZI-UL-DIEN, a man who crowded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other consummate villains have done into a long life of wickedness and treachery. For a particular and well-written account of all these transactions, the reader is referred to *Dow's History of Hindostan*.

river *Tapi*, or *Tappi*, which the Moors call *Cbedder*, and which THEVENOT says, has its source ten miles from the little town of *Brem pore*, in the kingdom and mountains of *Decan*, and runs into the sea, about two leagues and a half below *Surat*. At the mouth of the river, which is about half a league over, there is a bank, or bar, upon which, at low tide, there is no more than three feet water ; as, however, in springtides, the water rises full fifteen feet, pretty large ships can enter the river. Besides this, there are several other banks higher up in the river, of which that which lies near the village of *Omrah*, half a league below *Surat*, is the shoalest ; as at low water, it is not even passable by small craft : a little above the city, and farther up, the river becomes shallower and shallower, so that at low water it is fordable near the village of *Briauw*, about a Dutch mile higher up.

The Banians and Gentoos esteem this a very holy river. It follows in sanctity of estimation upon the *Ganges*, which they think the oldest in the world ; and the same ceremonies which are observed with respect
to

to the former *, likewise, in a great measure, take place in regard to the *Tapi*.

The river has many sinuosities, but its course lies as far as *Old Surat*, in an E.N.E. direction; from that place it runs more to the southeastward.

The flux and reflux of the tide occur even above the town; there is no considerable afflux of water, except in the rainy season, when the river rises sometimes to a great height, and occasions much damage. In the year 1727, it rose so high, that the people sailed with *horrys*† over the city walls as far as the *Durbar*‡.

In the month of July, of the year 1776, in the time of the bad monsoon, the water of the river rose ten feet, in the space of a quarter of an hour, and increased so rapidly, that it was almost upon a level with the wall of the city in a very short time. The

* The ceremonies observed in the festival instituted in honour of the river *Ganges*, are circumstantially described by Mr. STAVORINUS in his *Voyage to Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal*, book iii. chapter ii. DUTCH EDITOR.

† *Horrys* are small vessels, used as lighters, in the river of *Surat*, of from twenty to forty tons burthen. T.

‡ *Memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER.* S.

afflux was so violent, that all the vessels were carried away by it: the Company's schooner, the *Young Peter*, was driven from before the town high upon the shore, at *Attua*, and the *Gonjourwer*, or the *Holy Ship*, as it is called, was carried down the river, and dashed to pieces; a piece of the wreck, being part of the head, was to be seen opposite to the black guard, when I sailed up the river in February, 1777.

The road is about a league south of the mouth of the river. From October to April it is never without ships, that arrive here from all parts of India, and meet with a safe place to ride in, as that is the time when the northerly winds, mostly confined between the points of N.E. and N.W. prevail. After April, the road becomes dangerous, not being protected from the westerly and southerly winds, which rage uninterruptedly along this coast, from the month of May till August, and raise a very high sea; the sea-banks, which lie about four leagues out to sea, do not afford the least lee; several ships were lost in the month of May of this year, and only one or two of those that were

driven from their anchors, and run high upon the shore, were got off again.

The anchorage here is in seven, eight, or nine fathoms water, according to the distance from the shore which is preferred ; the Company's ships usually anchor in eight fathoms, with the tower of *Sualy* N. to N. by W. and the point of *Naffary* S.E. or S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.

From repeated observations, we found that the anchoring - place was in $21^{\circ} 57'$ north latitude, the variation of the compass $1^{\circ} 30'$ N.W. and high water, at new and full moon, at twenty-four minutes past four o'clock ; the water rising in spring tides fourteen or fifteen feet.

The seasons or monsoons are, as every where between the tropics in India, of two kinds, the good and the bad ; yet, some divide the year, as we do, in four portions, of which the months of March, April, and May, make the spring, or temperate season ; June, July, and August, the hot season, or bad monsoon ; during which, very sultry winds and continual rains prevail : September, October, and November, the autumn ; and December, January, and February, the cool

cool season, which is the best time of the year. I take these circumstances from what others related to me, for I was only in person here on my first voyage in the months of November and December; I shall therefore only communicate the observations which I made myself during that time, respecting the temperature of the climate.

From the 18th of November, to the end of that month, I found that the medium height of the thermometer was 83° , the highest during that period; namely, at three o'clock in the afternoon, 100° , and the lowest in the morning, half an hour before sunrise, 63° , both with a clear sky.

From the 1st, to the 25th of December, the medium height of the thermometer was 74° , the highest 92° ; namely, on the 1st, and on the 22d in the afternoon, with a clear sky: and the lowest 52° , being on the 21st in the morning, half an hour before sunrise, also with a clear sky.

Although I could not keep daily annotation of the degrees of heat, shewn by the thermometer, during the time that I remained at *Surat*, on my second voyage, from the 25th of February to the 7th of April, the heat was not excessive till the middle of
March,

March, seldom being higher than 96° ; but towards the end of March, and in the beginning of April, the thermometer was seldom under 104° in the afternoon, between half past one and half past three o'clock, and it rose twice as high as 108° ; the northerly winds brought on such a suffocating heat, that the thermometer, though hanging in the shade, and away from all reflection, rose 7° and 8° by them.

The dryness of the air is likewise very remarkable here, even in the cool season. In December, I put in a scale, hung upon an exact balance, the quantity of 600 grains of sal tartari vitr. twenty-four hours afterwards, it had only increased nine grains in weight, on the following day six, and on the third day three, grains; without any further change being afterwards observable.

When I made the same experiment, on my second visit, the sal tartari did not receive the least addition in weight; and the drought was so great, that wooden furniture, and even tortoise shell snuff-boxes, bound with gold rims, and more articles of the same nature, fell in pieces.

The air is likewise here strongly impregnated with volatile particles. In a morning,
before

before sun-rise, it is both difficult and noisome to pass through several parts of the town, on account of the horrid stench arising from carrion, human ordure, and other impurities; especially near the inner *Mochagate*: but three or four hours after the sun has risen, the intolerable odour is nearly dissipated and exated by the rays of the sun. The country round *Surat* is very fertile, and the inhabitants are more industrious than in other places, so that scarcely a piece of uncultivated ground is to be seen, or any spot that does not yield some useful production. The soil is a reddish clay, and is seldom manured; only they sometimes burn the dry stubble, or refuse, of the fields, the ashes of which serve, in some measure, to supply the want of other manure. The cow and horse dung is either used for fuel, or for other purposes.

CHAPTER XI.

Productions of the Fields.—An useful Shrub, producing Oil, and a Kind of Flax.—Tobacco.—Wheat.—Nilly, or Juary, a Sort of Indian Corn.—Method of sowing, and of reaping, of using, and of selling it.—Fruits.—Palm Wine.—Capok, or Cotton Wool.—Manufactures of Cotton.—Few Trees.—Timber brought from DAMAN.—Vegetables.—Provisions.—Wild Animals.—Avenues to the City.—The Road to ATTUA.—To BRIAUW.—To CATTERGAM.—To NASSARY.—The LAANTJES.—Walls and Extent of the City.—Gates.—Minarets.—Houses.—Suburbs.—Streets.

THE chief productions of the fields here, are wheat, *nilly*, and rice, as also a certain shrub, yielding a fruit, from which an oil used for lamps is expressed; the stalk, after having been laid to rot in water, separates, like the flax with us, into threads, of which sail-yarn is spun; I conceive, likewise, that it would be fit for the manufacture of cordage, were the experiment made. Among the produce of the land, tobacco may equally be reckoned, which is planted along the low grounds, by the riverside.

The

The wheat, which is reaped in a sufficient quantity to admit of exportation, and which is sometimes sent from this place to *Batavia*, is large-grained, yet somewhat longer-shaped than the Zealand wheat, and yields good, though not very white, flour. A last of wheat usually costs one hundred rupees, or one hundred and fifty gilders.

The grain, which is called *nilly* by the Europeans, and *juary* by the Moors, serves here almost universally for the food of the natives, in the same manner as rice does in nearly every other place in India. It grows in bunches like maize, to which it bears a great resemblance; yet the corn is something smaller, and has a little point at top; they are likewise not so thick set; some of these bunches weigh half a pound and more. The stalk grows to the height of five or six feet, and has at the upper part several broad leaves, which hang downwards; when ripe, it assumes a yellowish appearance.

The seed is sown in the month of July, after the first rainy season, and the harvest is made in December or January: in the latter end of November, or in the beginning of December, the stalks are bound together by
the

the tops five and five, in order to promote the ripening of the grain for the harvest.

After the land has been ploughed and harrowed, the seed is sown, nearly in a straight line, in the following manner: by the side of one or more oxen, a long hollow reed or bamboo is fastened, which is wide above, and narrower at bottom, by which last end it trails along the ground; the sower casts his seed into the upper orifice of the reed, and it runs out at the lower as the ox goes along, in a straight line.

The straw of this grain serves for food for the oxen and cows, and the stubble is used as fuel. The grain itself is ground, between two stones, into meal, which being mixed up to a dough, with water alone, is baked into flat unleavened cakes, which taste much like cakes of buckwheat-meal.

The grain is sold by weight; the maund, of $34\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, was sold, when I was there, for three-fourths of a rupee, or about twenty-three shivers of our money.

The abundance or scarcity of food for the natives, depends upon the good or ill success of the harvest of this grain, as they subsist, for the most part, entirely upon it. A failure
of

of the crop is always apprehended, when the rains do not fall at a proper period, or not in sufficient quantities.

I have been assured that very good mangos grow here, which are not ripe till February or March; as also grapes, some of which I saw in vineyards, but did not taste them, as they too are not ripe before the latter end of January, or the beginning of February. On my second voyage, grapes were so scarce, that I did not see them at all.

The cocoa-nut-tree does not occur here: though a sort of it is found, from which *tary*, or toddy, is drawn; it, however, more resembles the palm-tree; the stem is strait, and some of them pretty thick and smooth, with a small crown. The taste of the toddy is very different from that of the same kind of liquor which I drank in the eastern provinces of *Macassar* and *Amboyna*, known there by the appellation of *sagwire*; the flavour of the former being much more pleasant. The trees that yield the two liquors are likewise very different in appearance; though they seem to me to belong to the same genus.

The chief article of trade which this country affords, is cotton-cloth, the material for which, the *capok*, or cotton-wool, is produced
in

in abundance round *Broot Chia*, or *Baroche*, and higher up the country; but the chief part of the piece-goods which are manufactured here, are coarse and coloured cottons: yet very fine chequed and striped *doreas* are made not far from *Baroche*.

No forests are met with in the neighbourhood of *Surat*; nothing but low and small underwood; though at intervals, and especially along the roads, some shady trees occur, and, in general, of that species that shoot down little filaments from their branches, to the ground, which take root, and, in time, grow up into trees, and propagate themselves in the same manner as the parent stock. Numbers of these trees are esteemed very holy by the Gentoos, for which reason, many of their pagodas, or temples, are built under the shade of such a tree.

Most of the wood for fuel, and all that is wanted for house or ship-building, is brought hither from *Daman*, by water-carriage.

Vegetables are said to be in sufficient plenty for the Europeans, during the cool season. Those which I eat here, were an inferior sort of green peas and asparagus, both of which, though they looked very well, were watery and tasteless, and by no means so
nice

nice as those grown at *Batavia* ; good spinage, salad, purslane, beet-root, cabbage, and carrots.

The beef is very good and fat, as is mutton and venison ; but poultry is scarce, and is chiefly brought from other places. The butter and milk are likewise very good, and not very dear.

Of wild animals, the tiger is, I believe, besides snakes, the only one whose ravages are to be feared.

The houses swarm with bugs, especially in the hot season ; but I cannot say that I had any reason to complain of suffering from them myself.

There are several beautiful avenues which lead to the city from the country. On going out of the *Attua*, or, as the natives call it, the *Mochogate*, there is a broad road, which leads southward, at no great distance from the river ; it is planted with shady trees on both sides, as far as *Attua*. This road leads farther on to the village of *Omrah*, close to the river, and afterwards to the village of *Damis*, which is at the mouth of the river, on the south side.

The *Briauw* road runs on the other side of the city, so called from the village of
Briauw,

Briauw, which lies full one Dutch mile off, on the opposite side of the river. Turning from this road to the right, the way leads to *Poele Parre*, a village on this side of the river. A celebrated *fakir* has, for many years, resided near this place, of whom I shall have occasion to say more hereafter. A little farther, a handsome garden has been laid out, which belongs to the broker of the English; but the buildings appertaining to it, were burnt down last year by the Marattas. **THEVENOT** calls the abovementioned gate the gate of *Baroche*, because it is through the same that travellers to the latter place set off. This is a very pleasant and handsome avenue, and planted, almost the whole way, on both sides, with leafy trees, which afford an agreeable shade.

A handsome road likewise runs from the *Cattergam*-gate to the village of that name, and also to *Poele Parre*. Not far from there, upon an eminence, are the burial places of the Gentoo saints, of which I shall say more in the sequel.

Going out of the *Saras*-gate, called by **THEVENOT** that of *Daman*, there is likewise a pleasant road, reaching to *Nassary*, and to a village called *Oedanain*, where there is a
pagoda

pagoda, which is held in great veneration by the Hindoos.

The road which I thought the most pleasant, was that which we call the *Laantjes*, or the *green walk*. The little gate at the upper part of the town leads to it: we give it that appellation because it is narrow and closely overshadowed: it has much analogy with country roads, in my native and pleasant island of *Walcheren*.

The city of *Surat*, as I have before said, stands on the left bank of the *Tapi*. It is encircled by a double wall; the innermost, being about two hours' walk in circumference, and the outermost, which incloses both the inner town and the suburbs, requires almost three hours to walk round it. At the time of THEVENOT, the inner wall was reconstructed of brick, having before been merely a mud-wall. The inner wall is much decayed, but the outer one is in tolerable good condition. The height of it within, I calculate at about twelve feet, and without, as the ground there is much lower, twenty and more feet; it is seven or eight feet in thickness; at the height of eight feet, it loses about half its thickness, as a parapet is made there for those who defend the wall with small arms,
the

the upper part serving thus as a breast-work, loopholes being made in it, for the fuses to be fired through.

This is also almost the sole defence which they possess; for as to the round and semi-circular bastions, or places of arms, which jut out from the walls, on either side of the gate, and which are planted with a few cannon, together with the bulwarks, or sconces, that they call guards, which project a little from the wall, and are placed at intervals all round the town, at the distance of five or six hundred feet from each other, they are too weak, and too incapable of defence, to contribute much to the security of the town, excepting that by the *Nassary*-gate, which has lately been rebuilt in a stronger manner, by order of the English.

The inner town has twelve gates, two towards the river, and ten towards the country. There are as many gates in the outer, opposite to those in the inner wall, each of which bears the same name with the corresponding inner one.

One of the gates of the city, leading to the river, stands just below the castle, and is called the *Chiap*-gate, because all the goods, imported and exported, must be carried
through

through this gate to be housed in the town, or shipped in the river, in order that the customs may not be defrauded.

Cloſe to the inner walls, are ſeveral high and narrow ſpires, round which there are balconies, which the Turks call *minarets*, and are uſed to call the Mahomedans to prayer.

Few houſes are ſeen in the inner town that have any external good appearance. There are even many places, where nothing but little huts, made of bamboo, and plaſtered with mud, are met with. In the ſuburbs, few other than the laſt-mentioned are found ; ſave in one diviſion, or ward, through which one muſt paſs, on going out of the *Debli*-gate ; in this there are none but ſtone-buildings, which have a tolerably handſome appearance.

The ground encloded between the two city-walls, is not, however, near being covered with houſes ; there are extenſive gardens in it, and even tracts of arable land, and many lime and brick-kilns, eſpecially from the *Saras* to the *Attua*-gate.

The ſtreets are, in general, unpaved, narrow, and irregular, with projecting corners and ſhops. In this inſtance, THEVENOT is miſtaken, who ſays, that they are long and
broad,

broad, or things must have greatly changed since his time*. In the rainy season, they are very dirty, and the native inhabitants pay little attention to keeping them clean, making a common dunghill of them, and throwing every kind of filth into the middle of the road.

* Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE's translation of THEVENOT's travels has it, that the streets are "large and even." OVERTON, who was at *Surat* in 1689, says, "the streets are some too narrow, but in many places of a convenient breadth." *T.*

CHAPTER XII.

Description of the Garden of the Nabob.—Of a Pleasure-garden laid out by the Sister of AUREN-ZEBE.—Other Gardens belonging to Europeans.—A new Garden of the Nabob.—Burial-places of the Dutch and Portuguese.—Monument of Mr. VAN RHEEDE.—Singular Tomb of a Ship's Butler.—The large Tank and Banian-tree which THEVENOT and VALENTYN speak of, not now to be found.—Wells of Water.—The Castle.—The Durbar, or Court of the Nabob.—The Mint.—Method of Coining.—Factories of the Europeans.—That of the Dutch.—Caravanferas.—Mosques, or Massjeds.—Bazars, or Markets.—The Meidan, or Castlegreen.

AMONG the gardens which lie in the outer town, or suburbs, that of the nabob, who is called MAMOUDI BEG, deserves the first place, as well on account of its large buildings, as the general magnificence with which it is laid out. But I do not know how to give an exact description of it, notwithstanding I was fully employed for more than

than

than three hours in viewing it, as it consists, for the most part, of buildings, in which there is an infinite number both of large saloons, and small apartments, which I have been assured amounts to more than seven hundred.

The whole is inclosed within a high stone wall, which requires a quarter of an hour to walk round. The entrance is through a large stone gate, into an area of considerable extent; then up some steps into the great saloon, looking towards a large tank, or reservoir, in which there is six feet water, and which is, as I guessed, more than one hundred and fifty feet long, and about half as broad. The saloon, I take it, is full one hundred feet in length, and thirty in breadth: little niches are every where made in the walls, as well as an architectural ornament, as to hold little burning lamps of an evening; on three sides it is surrounded with little apartments.

Over this there is another range of apartments, nearly similar; and again a third on another story; but the last contains fewer of the little retiring rooms. From the roof, which is flat, in the Moorish fashion, there

is

is a most delightful prospect over the city, and its environs.

The baths are on the second story ; they are built in closed apartments, and are kept so warm, that though it was then cool weather, I could not stay five minutes in them.

In every apartment, both in the saloons, and in the small rooms, are fountains and cisterns of water, for washing.

At the upper end of the abovementioned tank there is another building, and on the right hand, a third, all constructed in the same manner as that first described. Here the *mahal*, or seraglio of the nabob, is held, when he resides here. Before the saloon belonging to it, there is likewise a large tank, or reservoir, of sixty or seventy feet in length, and twelve or fourteen in breadth ; at the upper end of which, the eyes are delighted by a beautiful artificial cascade, of twenty feet in height : on each side of the reservoir, into which the cascade falls, are a number of fountains, the streams of which play in an oblique direction, opposite to and towards each other, making a watery arch, which has a most pleasing effect. The
water

water which is employed in these works, and for the baths and cisterns within the buildings, is brought part of the way from the deep wells, whence it is drawn by oxen, in leathern bags, and then is introduced into the gardens by a kind of chain pumps, to which earthen pots are fastened.

There was no furniture in any of the apartments; such is only placed there when the nabob takes his pleasure, in person, in the gardens.

Although these buildings are said to be not forty years old, and to have cost nine lacks of rupees, or full thirteen tons of gold, every thing seems to be in a very ruinous condition, which is indeed the case with all the Moorish buildings.

Thus the pleasure-garden laid out by BEGUM SAHEB, the sister of AURENZEBE, is at present in a most desolate state of delapidation. This is situated in the outer town, near the *Naffary-gate*. THEVENOT, who was here in the year 1666, and calls it the *garden of the princesses*, describes it with much accuracy and fidelity. It remains still in an entire state; and I went over the whole of it, with his description
in

in my hand. Most of the trees have, however, been cut down; and few remain, but those constituting the four chief walks, and one or two of the others, being all tamarind-trees.

Flowers are not found here; all the ground is sown with different sorts of pulse and greens. It is surrounded by a high wall, and, I compute, covers about fifteen or sixteen acres. The abovementioned traveller says that it lies out of the city; but the suburbs were not then encircled by walls.*

Besides

* THEVENOT's description of this garden is as follows :
 " We went a quarter of a league farther to see the princess's
 " garden, so called, because it belongs to the great Mogul's
 " sister. It is a great plot of trees of several kinds; as
 " mangos, palms, mirabolans, and many others, planted
 " in a straight line. Among the shrubs I saw the *querze-*
 " *here*, or *aacla*, and also the *âcacia* of *Egypt*. There are
 " in it a great many straight walks, and especially the
 " four which make a cross over the garden, and have in
 " the middle a small canal of water, that is drawn by oxen
 " out of a well. In the middle of the garden there is a
 " building with four fronts, each whereof hath its divan,
 " with a closet at each corner; and before every one of
 " these divans there is a square basin full of water, whence
 " flow the little brooks which run through the chief walks.
 " After all, though the garden be well contrived, it is no-
 " thing to the gallantry of ours. There is nothing to be
 " seen

Besides these, there are several other gardens, belonging as well to natives as to Europeans. The second of the Dutch factory, *SLUISKENS*, occupies a pleasant garden, laid out by one *PRICE*, formerly chief of the English here. The purveyor, *MONTÉ*, and the junior merchant, *ZIMMERMAN*, together with several English, equally occupy gardens, which are all situated within the suburb-walls.

After the year 1775, which was the time I was at *Surat*, the nabob laid out a new garden, which is known by the appellation of the *julmi-bach*, or the garden of injustice, because, by an abuse of his authority, he had a number of houses, belonging to poor people, pulled down, in order to procure room for making his garden, without giving any satisfactory indemnification to the indigent inhabitants.

It covers about seven or eight acres of ground; it is very well planned and laid out, with a saloon, before which there is a

“ seen of our harbours, borders of flowers, nor of the ex-
 “ actness of their compartments, and far less of their water-
 “ works,” *Thevenot's Travels*, part III. chap. xiv. T.

beautiful

beautiful parterre of the most fragrant flowers, and an aviary, in which it is a singular sight to see, a great number of geese, ducks, and turkies, among a collection of curious birds.

The burial-places of the Dutch, and of the Portuguese, are likewise situated in the suburbs. The former merit the attention of the traveller, as there is scarcely any grave that has not a tomb with lofty spires upon it; the meanest have a gravestone with a sculptured epitaph. That of Mr. VAN RHEEDE, commissary-general of the East-India Company over the western factories, excels all the others in largeness of dimension, elegance of architecture, magnificence of ornament, and richness of material, and is kept in repair at the expence of the Company; for which purpose, not long ago, about six thousand rupees, or nine thousand Dutch guilders, were charged in account to the Company *.

The tomb of a ship's butler, who when

* When THEVENOT was at *Surat*, this monument was then building; OVINGTON mentions it, and calls it a noble pile. 7.

alive was a true votary of Bacchus, and proved faithful to the worship of the jovial god even in death, by expressly desiring that three large punchbowls of stone should be placed upon the corners, and one at the top of the spire, of his tomb, is much decayed, and only one of the punchbowls now remains entire *.

These burial-places are surrounded by a high wall, and cover, as I compute, about one hundred roods of ground.

The burying-place of the English is without the suburb-walls, on the right side of the road to *Briauw*.

Whatever pains I took to find the large tank, and banian-tree, of which **THEVENOT** and **VALENTYN** make mention, I could not discover them; they have, perhaps, both been destroyed since that time. I was, however, assured, that at *Seculture*, a place not far from *Baroche*, such a tree existed, as that

* **THEVENOT** and **OVINGTON** both likewise notice this singular monument, and add, that the surviving friends of the deceased used to make merry at the tomb, preparing their beverage in the stone bowls, and "remembering him there sometimes so much, that they quite forgot themselves." T.

of which those writers take such particular notice.

Although the city of *Surat* is built upon the banks of a river, the inhabitants would be in want of water, as that of the river before the town is almost always brackish, if provision were not made against this inconveniency, by a number of wells, lined with brick, which are very deep, and whence the water is brought by oxen in leathern bags.

The principal edifice belonging the city is the castle, which was erected by the Moguls, on the conquest of *Guzurat*. Its shape is an irregular square ; the shortest side of it, and one of the oblique sides facing the west and northwest, are washed by the river. At each angle it has a large round tower, which serves for a bastion ; the walls, or curtains, that connect these together, are about half as thick, and nearly as high, as the towers, which I reckoned to be full forty feet from the ground to the battlements. On the narrowest side there is a circular place of arms made between, and of the same height as the towers. A ravelin was added to the oblique flank, next
to

to the river, by the English, after they got possession of the castle, which covers that side.

As far as can be seen from without (for into the castle, none who do not belong to the English are admitted), it appears to be pretty strong, built of hewn stone, and to be well provided with artillery. On the land-side it is surrounded by a ditch. It has but one gate, which is on the south side, opposite to the *Meidan*. Yet it could not be long defended against a bombardment, on account of the great number of buildings, which occupy the space within its walls, none of which, as I was assured by those who had been within it, by connivance of the English, are bomb-proof, and the garrison would, therefore, be without shelter against the destructive effects of such an attack.

The Moorish colours are hoisted on the southeastermost tower, and those of the English upon the southwestermost.

The court, or palace, where the nabob resides, is called the *Durbar*; it lies to the south-west, about two hundred paces from the castle. Within it, it is said, there is
little

little worthy notice. The gate which forms the entrance to it, is kept by a guard of *Habfis*, or Arabians, and is mounted with two old pieces of cannon, but it more resembles a ruinous hovel, than the entrance to the residence of a prince.

The mint, where the silver which is imported is coined into rupees, by having the impression of the emperor's name, and the year of his reign, stamped upon them, is a large pile, surrounded by a high wall. Along the wall are sheds, under which the workmen sit : on the right hand is an elevated apartment for the overseers and inspectors, when any work is doing. Opposite to it, a square place is walled off, where the silver and copper are melted, and cast in moulds, into bars, or ingots. The metal is weighed to the workmen, who cut it into pieces of the exact weight which the coin to be struck requires, every one having a pair of scales at hand for that purpose, in which every piece is separately weighed : these workmen beat it round and flat, though one piece sometimes falls thicker than another, to which exact attention is not paid. It then goes to the coiners, who were then
about

about thirty in number, each of whom has an assistant, who puts the prepared pieces of copper, or silver, upon the lower die, while the other places the upper one, which he holds in his left hand, upon them, and stamps the impression upon them with a forcible blow of a hammer.

The lodges, or factories, of foreign nations, namely, of the Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch, likewise stand in the inner town, though each have what they call a wharf in the suburb, called *jenghi bander*. The factory of our Company is an old building, situated nearly in the center of the town ; there is nothing worthy of observation about it, and it is in an extremely ruinous condition : it is at present only made use of for *bazarring* the piece-goods, that is, for examining them when they come from the manufacturers, and comparing them with the patterns. The Company still pay a yearly rent for the use of this building, to one of the natives, to whom it came by inheritance ; besides which, it must be kept in repair at the expence of the Company.

Formerly, when *Surat* was in a more flourishing

flourishing condition, there were several caravanferas here, which were all very well maintained, as well from the donations of pious Mussulmen, as from certain revenues arising from what was paid by the travellers who resorted to them. There are at present two, which I saw ; one by the side of the *Nassary*-gate, which for that reason is called by us the *double*-gate, because the square area of the caravanfera has on the two opposite sides a large gateway, leading to the road of *Nassary* ; and one not far from the mint : they are both square buildings, with colonades on the sides, and provided with little square rooms, in which the travellers pass the night, while their baggage and cattle remain in the area of the caravanfera.

The mosques, which are here called *massjeds*, the interior of which may be seen by any one who will pull off his shoes, possess nothing worthy of particular regard. On entering the gate, you come into an open court, which occupies about one-half of the depth of the building ; the other half is covered : no ornaments, or furniture, are seen, except the pulpit, and a small closet, fixed in the wall, in which the Koran is kept.

kept. A few chapters of this book are sometimes read on Fridays; but the chief service of their devotion consists in muttering their prayers, at certain times, in this place.

There are many *bazars*, or market-places, here; for example, the bazar for cottons, for exchange, for greens, for wood, and several others, which overflow with people, towards the evening, especially the first-named, which is likewise the place where the Banian and other Asiatic merchants meet, as those of Europe do upon their exchanges. A great number of retail-shops are equally found here.

The *Meidan* * is a large open plain, south of the castle, where both our Company and the English have large tents, or awnings, surrounded by palings of bamboos. The bales of piecegoods are kept in them till they are *chiapped* and shipped off.

Not far from here, a *latty*, or warehouse, has been run up of wood, and closed with matts of palm-leaves, in which private goods were formerly housed.

* The English call it the Castlegreen, on account of its vicinity to the castle.

CHAPTER XIII.

*Inhabitants of SURAT.—Banians.—Brabmins.—
Faquirs.—Moors.—Their particular Religion.—
Their Character.—Gentoos.—Pagodas.—Be-
lief in Transmigration.—Their Solicitude not to kill
any living Creature.—Their superstitious Opinions
in this Respect.—Tombs of their Saints.*

THE city of *Surat* contains, it is said, full five hundred thousand inhabitants, which does not appear entirely improbable to me, as its populousness is very considerable. Mr. SCHREUDER divides them into four classes, namely, Moors, Banians, Gentoos, and Persians; but, in my opinion, they ought only to be divided into three sorts, for the Banians and Gentoos are the same people, derived from the same origin, and professing the same religion; the Banians are in much greater numbers than the Gentoos, but they differ from each other in no other respect than as being of different castes, while the caste of the Banians, according to Mr.

SCHREUDER,

SCHREUDER, is again subdivided into ninety-two forts.

By the best information which I could obtain, from several tolerably learned Banians, the general division of the people is into four classes, brahmins, warriors, agriculturers, and mechanics, who are all again subdivided into a great number of castes; all which are held in honour, in proportion as they refrain from the use of forbidden things, flesh meat, or any thing that has received life, from the drinking of strong, or inebriating liquors, from the commission of adultery, from lying, &c. On this account, the class of agriculturers, who are the least infected with these vices, are the most esteemed, and much above the mechanics, who do not so much observe the dictates of morality.

Although the brahmins form a head-caste, some are, however, found among them, who are equally incorporated into other castes, for instance, in that of the Banians, the present broker of the company, GOVEN RAM, being one of them; he always wore a string of yellow amber beads in his hand, in the same manner as the illiterate Roman catholics have their paternosters, for counting of their prayers.

Faquirs,

Faquirs are met with in all the castes, and likewise among the Moors, the Marattas, and the Malabars; and they have the same religion as the Gentoos.

The Europeans are too few in number here, to be considered as a fourth class of inhabitants.

The Moors, or Monguls, among which may be reckoned the Arabians, the Turks, and the modern Persians, who have settled here for the sake of trade, because they profess the same religion, are the proprietors of the soil, by right of conquest, by which they brought nearly the half of the peninsula within the *Ganges* under subjection to them, and would probably have extended their dominion still farther, had the successors of AURENGZEBE inherited his abilities and bravery, together with his empire.

They are called Moors in common with several nations who adhere to the doctrines of Mahomet. The inhabitants of the kingdom of *Granada*, in Spain, were, for that reason, distinguished by the same name, by the christians of *Castile* and *Arragon*; in the same manner as the inhabitants of the Peninsula of *Hitoe* at *Amboyna*, are distinguished from

from the Leytimoreſe chriſtians, though no difference of colour has given occaſion thereto.

Theſe people, as well as the modern Perſians, are of the ſect of the *Chiaïs*, who do not conſider ABUKEKER, OMAR, and OSMYN, as the lawful ſucceſſors of MAHOMET, but as uſurpers, eſteeming ALI, the ſon-in-law of MAHOMET, as the perſon who ought to have immediately ſucceeded to the place of the prophet.; whereas the Turks, who are called *Sunnites*, believe the contrary. This difference of belief is the cauſe of an irreconcilable hatred between theſe people, which is encouraged and cheriſhed by the princes on both ſides.

Although theſe Monguls, or Moors, are profeſſors of the Mahomedan faith, and obſerve the ſolemnities and ceremonies it preſcribes, they are nevertheless much infected with the ſuperſtition of the heathens whoſe country they have ſubdued, of which their *ſalammas*, or ſalutations to the moon, is a prominent inſtance.

Here, as well as in *Bengal*, the Moors are, in general, both very indolent and very proud; hence moſt of them either enliſt as ſoldiers, or become mendicants: few of them
are

are to be met with who understand any mechanical art, and still fewer who carry on any trade: if, however, any of them do engage in commercial pursuits, they launch deep into business, and adventure largely upon the seas.

A few of them who engage as sailors, of whom the company have a considerable number in their service, which is even calculated at eighteen or nineteen hundred, frequently become very good seamen, although they seldom lose their natural indolent disposition.

Of their stature, dress, and manners, and likewise of their women, &c. I have made ample mention in my observations upon *Bengal* *.

The religious ceremonies of the Gentoos, are not so deserving of observation as in *Bengal*. The great festivals which are observed at the *Ganges*, do not appear to take place, at least they are not accompanied with so much pomp and circumstance as there, when they are observed.

Once in their lives, they visit the pagoda of *Jagernate*, on the coast of *Orixa*, where

* See book III. chap. 2. of Mr. STAVORINUS's *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal*.

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no distinction of castes is made, and they all, like a nation descended from one common stock, eat, drink, and make merry together. At that time too, the caste of the warriors, and some others, are allowed to eat flesh and fish.

The burning or burying alive of widows with their deceased husbands, is rare here. Above *Banca Parra*, on the banks of the *Tapi*, a sort of tomb is shewn, where a woman was burnt with her husband, which is a proof of the rarity of the occurrence.

The difference they make between what they esteem fortunate and unfortunate days, which are announced and regulated by their priests, is more observeable here than in *Bengal*, on account of the number of Banian merchants, with whom one has always some dealings.

Their priests did not appear to me to have so much respect paid to them as in *Bengal*; perhaps on account of their great number; for they are made use of for *cooleys*, or labourers, to carry goods in and out of the warehouses, for which they have even an exclusive privilege. Another sort, called *bbooy*s, are alone entitled to load and unload them.

The

The pagodas are neither so large nor so handsome here, as in *Bengal*, and their idols are of less consideration than there.

Their belief in the metempsychosis, which, it is said, is universal among the Hindoos (though I could never reconcile this with the expectation which their priests endeavour to impress upon those women who suffer themselves to be burnt or buried alive with their husbands, namely, that, united to the deceased in another life, they will enjoy eternal pleasures with him), makes them very solicitous about the life of every animal, as well of such as are hurtful, as of such as are useful or harmless. They will not premeditatedly kill any animal of any kind, nor eat of its flesh. Those among them, who seek to attain the highest degree of sanctity, and endeavour to make themselves agreeable to the divinity by their good deeds, put every means in practice to avoid being guilty of the murder even of the meanest insect.

I saw several of them here, who wore a piece of thin linen, or gauze, before the mouth, in order not to deprive any creature of life, by their breath. Others have besides a brush or broom, with which they sweep away
the

the dust from the ground upon which they tread, that they may not crush any living thing to death with their feet. Others again search for the places where ants resort, and strew flour about them, in order to furnish those insects with food. If they have the misfortune of accidentally killing any insect or other animal, they impose a heavy penance upon themselves, which is always accompanied by many washings and purifications.

How ridiculous soever the superstition of these blind heathens may now appear to us Europeans, we have only to recur to our own portion of the globe, and to the middle ages, and we shall find an instance of a very renowned saint, who performed a penance of six months, because he had killed a knat or flea that had stung him *.

When these Indian saints, whom THEVENOT calls *vartias*, and the Dutch, for what reason I know not, *potje pissers*, die, their bodies are not burnt, like those of the other Gentoos, but buried. Their burying-place, which I mentioned before, lies out of the *Catergam* - gate; they are not, as was in

* *Philosophie du bon Sens*, chap. de l'Incertitude de l'Histoire, sect. 8. 8.

general asserted, placed in their graves with the feet upwards, but in a posture as if they sat upon their heels. Over each grave is a square tomb, about four feet high, and three feet broad, open all round, except the corners, upon which a little dome rests, which is built upon the tomb; under it, exactly in the middle, is a square stone, perfectly white, in which the representation of two footsteps, next to each other, is carved, with an inscription round them. Their fellow-believers shew great veneration for these tombs, and strew them daily with fresh flowers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Account of an Hospital for sick, lame, or maimed Animals—Supported by the Contributions of the Banians and Gentoos.—Its Revenues. — Supplies of Hay, Corn, &c. — Grain in which there are any Worms or Weevils deposited here.—Lice, and other Vermin, kept and fed here.—Apes and Monkeys.—A land Tortoise, of a remarkable Weight and Age.—The Persees of Surat.—Their Origin.—Their Character.—Their Numbers.—Their Appearance.—Their Women.—Customs.—Ceremonies of Marriage.—At the Birth of a Child.—Reception of the Boys, as Members of their Religion.

THE Banians, or Gentoos, whose daily occupations do not permit them to tread in the footsteps of these meritorious saints, fulfil the duties imposed upon them in another manner, by providing for the welfare of animals.

For this purpose, they have entered into engagements, more than a century ago, to devote a certain part of their gains in trade, annually, to a sort of hospital for animals, which was then erected by them, out of the city,

city, but which now, by the walling round of the suburbs, has been taken into the town, and stands in the ward called *Sagurampoura*, near the *Madjara*-gate.

The hospital itself is called *Panjeropor*, which denotes as much as *a society*, as both Banians and Gentoos contribute their shares towards the support of this institution.

The former, however, contribute the largest portion, as their profits are greater than those of the former ; the rate by which they pay is, one *ana*, or one sixteenth of a rupee, out of every hundred rupees, clear gain.

In the same manner, the pecuniary mulcts, to which they are condemned by their Brahmins, for the speaking of untruths, or other venial offences, are appropriated to the support of this hospital.

The chief direction over it is confided to the chief of the Banians, who receives the revenues of the institution, and pays the daily expences of it out of them.

Although by the decay of the trade of *Surat*, this institution has suffered in common with it, these revenues yet amount yearly to full six thousand rupees, or nine thousand Dutch gilders.

From

From this forty servants are kept, who take care of and feed the animals committed to their charge. Every year, five hundred thousand trusses of hay, and every day, sixty *seer* of corn, and fifty *seer* of milk, are required for keeping the sick cattle; besides which, the cows and oxen are sent to pasture out of the city, unless they are lamed, or unable by extreme age, to crop their food themselves.

The hospital consists of a large plain, nearly square, of about twenty-five acres in extent, surrounded by a high wall, having sheds in several parts of it, under which the cattle sleep. On the left hand of the entrance, which is through a great gate, there is a stone building, in which there is a floor, twelve or fourteen feet from the ground, whither the Banians and Gentoos carry their spoiled grain, in which there are any worms or wevils; when it has lain some time there, it is cast through large square holes in the floor, into the lower part of the building, where it is kept as in a warehouse, till the corn, with the animals in it, are entirely turned to dust, when it is carried out of the town, and strewed upon the garden-grounds.

Lice,

Lice, and other vermin, are likewise kept and fed in this place, but I did not see any of them *.

The birds that are sick or maimed, are kept in cages; but the greatest part of the quadrupeds were unconfined.

Among all the animals that are maintained here, I did not, however, see any that may be classed as carnivorous; but there were a number of apes and monkeys of all sorts, who were all either sick, lame, or maimed.

Amongst others, I saw likewise a land tortoise, which, as I guessed, weighed at least one hundred and fifty pounds. This animal, as the Banians assured me, had already been kept there for the space of seventy years, and it could now scarcely move, from extreme old age. Under its paws, on each

* In describing this hospital, OVERTON adds the following curious circumstance, that “to maintain the vermin with that choice diet to which they are used, and to feed them with their proper fare, a poor man is hired now and then to lie all night upon the cot or bed where the vermin are put; and he is fastened upon it, lest their stinging force him to take his flight before morning; and so they nourish themselves by sucking his blood, and feeding on his carcass.” T.

side, there were four nails sticking out, which were white, and resembled fingers that had been cut off. The animal was entirely blind, and was fed with nothing but milk. It was, however, dead when I was at *Surat*, for the second time, in the year 1777.

Faquirs are likewise met with here, who come down from the interior parts of the country to this populous city, in order to perform their singular penances, before numerous spectators, who crowd the streets of it. In my observations upon *Bengal*, I have made ample mention of them, and shall, therefore, only add, that their manner of life and corporal sufferings are the same here, as in *Bengal* *.

The third people, or nation, who help to form the body of inhabitants at *Surat*, are the Persians, or Perfecs.

These descendants of the ancient Persians, those well-known enemies of Greece, and benefactors of the Jewish people, known for many ages by the name of *Guebres*, or *Garves*, and likewise by the appellation of

* See the third book, in the second volume, of Mr. STAVORINUS's beforementioned voyage. DUTCH EDITOR.

Ateeb Pereft, or worshippers of fire, abandoned their country upon the conquest of it by the caliph OMAR, and the capture by him of their last king HORMISDAS.

As the conqueror forced all his new subjects to embrace the mahomedan creed, and persecuted with fire and sword those who refused to abandon the religion of their forefathers, some of them fled to the most distant parts of the province of *Carmenia*, in which, though belonging to *Persia*, it seems that the mahomedan sovereigns of the country have suffered them to remain undisturbed, with respect to their religion. THEVENOT, who was in *Persia*, in the year 1665, writes, that they dwelt there, and likewise in other parts of *Persia*, and exercised their religion unmolested.

A great portion, however, abandoned their country, in the year 636*, and fled for refuge to Hindostan, resorting more particularly to the neighbourhood of *Surat*, where they obtained permission to settle from the Hindoos, and to exercise their religion

* This was the date when the lieutenants of OMAR subdued *Persia*; in the Dutch original it is printed by mistake 1632 T.

without restraint ; upon the condition, however, that they should never kill any ox or cow, and which they likewise affirm they have never done, even until the present day.

Their number, in and round *Surat*, is at present estimated to amount to one hundred thousand souls, who almost all maintain themselves by agriculture and manufactures*. As they much surpass the other inhabitants of *Surat* in industry, no Persees are seen among the beggars, with which the city swarms ; if they are ever oppressed by poverty, their chiefs take care that they need not have recourse to the despicable life of mendicants. Many of them are domestics in the houses of the Europeans, and become occasional servants to the strangers who arrive in the city : they receive five rixdollars per month wages, but must provide their own victuals.

They encrease in numbers from day to day, and have built and inhabit many entire wards in the suburbs. The greatest number

* VALENTYN says that the Persees of *Surat* are the posterity of about 18,000 of their countrymen, who, flying from OMAR, came by sea from Cape *Jask*, in the Gulph of *Persia*, *Gombroon*, and *Ormuz*, to *Guzurat*. T.

of them, however, says Mr. SCHREUDER, live in the country, and along the seacoast from *Baroche* to *Bazaim*, and farther, where they have several large and wealthy villages.

There are some among them, although few, who leave their countrymen, in the neighbourhood of *Surat*, for several years, and resort to *Cochim*, the coast of *Coromandel*, or other places in India, in order to procure a better livelihood ; these leave their wives and children behind them, and marry other wives at the places where they go to reside : but they are much despised by their own people, especially when they die in another part of the country, and cannot be inhumated in the usual burial-places, for it is an article of belief among them, that such persons are eternally miserable in a future life ; for this reason their relations spare no expence in order to have the bones conveyed to their receptacles, and sometimes are at the cost of twenty thousand rupees, and more, to effect this purpose.

Several among them at *Surat* are rich, and may be counted among the principal merchants.

They are much fairer than either the
Moors

Moors or Gentoos, and do not differ much in complexion from the Spaniards : they have, in general, large eyes, aquiline noses, and are well-proportioned.

Their women, who are still fairer than the men, are, generally speaking, tall and graceful ; they have large piercing black eyes, full of the most fascinating fire ; their eyebrows are black, perfectly arched, and placed at a proper distance from the eyes, to add considerably to the beauty of the face ; the forehead is high ; the nose, like the same feature in the men, has an aquiline bend ; the mouth is small, and adorned with the most beautiful pearly teeth ; the bosom is full, and the breasts most symmetrically rounded ; their legs are very handsome ; their deportment and gait is airy and graceful ; and their Moorish attire loose and gay.

These people, it is said, are much addicted to sensual pleasures, and are even guilty of the unnatural crimes, which were not a little prevalent among the ancient Persians, and are not rare among the inhabitants of the country in which they at present reside.

They, however, marry no more than one
woman

woman at the same time, and never any one but of their own nation, so that they have preserved their race, through so many ages, pure and unmixed with other nations, to the present day.

Adultery and fornication they punish amongst themselves, and even by death ; but they must, however, give cognizance of any capital punishment to the Moorish government : the execution is performed in secret, either by lapidation, drowning in the river, castigation, or beating to death, and sometimes by poison.

Pursuers of unlawful pleasures, spurred on by the desire of variety, and such as did not otherwise make any difficulty of confessing and even triumphing in their amours, have uniformly assured me, that they have never succeeded in having their will of any Persian woman, notwithstanding they have neither spared assiduity nor money. The fear of punishment has so much influence upon these women, that they never dare consent, well knowing that if ever their indiscretion be discovered, they cannot escape certain death. They are not, however, at all deficient in the amorousness of constitution,
which

which is so much the characteristic of all the oriental women. They are seen, every day, in the streets, and frequently fetch water at a distance from their houses. A number of Persian women are, however, always together, and a young girl especially is very rarely seen by herself.

Girls are marriageable before they are twelve years old, and their marriages are contracted at a very early age, and while they are mere infants; but cohabitation is deferred till the girls are about the above-mentioned age of puberty.

As soon as the wedding-day is fixed upon, the bridegroom and his father go round, a few days before, to the houses of all their relations and friends, in order to announce the intended nuptials to them; every one is then obliged to present the bridegroom with some articles of household furniture, money, or clothes, to which custom he, in his turn, is obliged equally to conform, when others of his friends marry.

When the marriage-ceremony is performed, the bride and bridegroom sit down, with their legs crossed under them, upon a square board, covered with cloth, and laid
upon

upon the ground; the fathers sit next to their children; a cocoanutshell is given to the young couple, with some thread, which they wind round it, and give it interchangeably to each other three times; the priest then strews some rice, as a symbol of prolificness, upon them; next, after uttering a prayer, he writes upon a little billet, or note, that the father, named so and so, has given his daughter to be the wife of the bridegroom, such a one; as soon as the note is rolled up, a string of green beads is put round the neck of the bride, which she never puts off till it is entirely worn out. It is not customary to give any portion with the bride.

As soon as a child is born, the father goes to one of their priests, in order to inform him thereof, and he writes down where and when the child was brought into the world. The priest then forms three names out of the horoscope of the child, writes them upon a little board strewed with ashes, and sends it, with much solemnity, on the sixth day afterwards, to the parents, that they may make choice of one of the names.

When the boys are seven years old, they
are

are admitted as members of their religion. They then receive a narrow woollen bandage, woven by the wives of the priests, which is wound three times round the body over the shirt, and which they must wear as long as they live ; whenever it is worn out, another is furnished by the priests, to whom a certain fixed price must be paid for it.

Nothing of the kind takes place with respect to the girls, who are only supposed to be incorporated into their religion upon being married.

CHAPTER XV.

Ceremonies of Sepulture among the Persees.—Description of their Tombs, or Receptacles for their Dead.—Desolate and dreary Aspect of the Place.—Description of the Outside of one of them.—Of the Inside of another.—Danger in too eager a Curiosity to examine them.—Singular Method of Interment mentioned by THEVENOT.—Superstitious Opinions of the Persees.

WHEN a Persee dies, the body is washed clean, and dressed in the oldest clothes belonging to the deceased. Then four carriers of the dead, who are equally Persees, but of the very lowest class, to whom it is not even allowed to touch fire, take up the body, and lay it upon an iron bier, made in the form of a grate, upon which they carry it out of the city, to one of their burying-places, or, more properly, receptacles of the dead *.

There

* OVINGTON, who was an eye-witness of the ceremonies observed at the deposition of the body of a Persee, relates
the

There are several of these receptacles near *Surat*, but the principal of them stands about

the following circumstances respecting them : “ After the
 “ body is for some time dead, the *Hilalchors* (a sort of for-
 “ did Indians) take and carry it out upon an open bier, into
 “ the open fields, near the place where it is to be exposed
 “ to the fowls of heaven. When it is there decently de-
 “ posited upon the ground, a particular friend beats the
 “ fields and neighbouring villages, upon the hunt for a dog,
 “ till he can find one out ; and having had the good luck
 “ to meet him, he intices him with a cake of bread, which
 “ he carries in his hand for that purpose, till he draws him
 “ as near the corpse as he is able ; for the nearer the dog is
 “ brought to the dead body, the nearer are its approaches
 “ to felicity. And if the hungry cur can by bits of cake be
 “ brought so nigh the deceased, as to come up to him, and
 “ take a piece out of his mouth, it is then an unquestionable
 “ sign, that the condition he died in was very happy ; but
 “ if the timorous dog startles at the sight, or loaths the ob-
 “ ject, or being lately well fed, has no stomach to that ordi-
 “ nary morsel, which he must snatch out of the dead man’s
 “ jaws, the case then with him is desperate, and his state
 “ deplorable. The poor man, whom I saw, was, by these
 “ prognostics, very miserable ; for the sturdy cur would by
 “ no means be inticed to any distance near him. When the
 “ dog has finished his part of the ceremony, two *daroos*
 “ (priests) at a furlong’s distance from the bier, stand up,
 “ with joined hands, and loudly repeat, for near half an hour,
 “ a tedious form of prayer by heart ; but with such a quick
 “ dispatch, that they scarce draw breath all the while, as if
 “ they had been under some invincible necessity of running
 “ over the words in such a time. All the while they
 “ were

about half a Dutch mile out of the *Double*, or *Nassary*-gate. The piece of ground upon which it is built, and which is about a

“ were thus gabbling, a piece of white paper, fastened to
 “ each ear, o’erthwart the face, hung down two or three
 “ inches below the chin ; and as soon as they had ended
 “ their petitions, the *Halalchors* took up the corpse, and con-
 “ veyed it to the repository, which was near ; all the company
 “ ranking themselves by two and two, and following it with
 “ joined hands. The place of sepulture is in the open fields,
 “ within a wall, built in form of a circle, about twelve feet
 “ high, and about an hundred in the circumference ; in the
 “ middle of which was a door of stone, about six feet from
 “ the ground, which was opened to admit the corpse. The
 “ ground within the walls is raised above four feet, and
 “ made shelving towards the center, that the filth and mois-
 “ ture which are drained continually from the carcases, may
 “ by an easy passage descend into a sink made in the mid-
 “ dle to receive them. The corpse, therefore, was left here,
 “ and all the company departing thence, betook themselves
 “ to a rivulet that run near the place, for ablution, to cleanse
 “ themselves from what defilements they might have con-
 “ tracted on this melancholy occasion ; and retired after-
 “ wards to their proper habitations in the city, from whence
 “ this place is distant about a mile ; but within the space
 “ of a day or two after, some of the nearest relatives return
 “ again hither, to observe which of the eyes of their deceased
 “ friend was first picked out by the hungry vultures ; and
 “ if they find, that the right eye was first seized on, this
 “ abodes undoubted happiness ; if the left, they then are
 “ sorrowful ; for that is a direful sign of his misery.”

Cwington's Voyage to Surat, London, 1696, page 376. T,

quarter

quarter of a mile in circumference, is the property of the Perfees ; it lies a little higher than the country round it ; the foil is a hard, stony, clay, which is split to a considerable depth, in several places, by the great aridity of the climate. The little brushwood, and the faded and thorny bushes, which are interspersed upon it, bear the visible marks of a desert and barren foil, upon which they rather appear to pine, than to grow.

The death-like silence, and dismal solitude of the place, the hoarse croakings of the crows and ravens, that resort hither in numerous bands, to feed upon the putrifying carcases, make this spot a truer picture of the dreary abodes destined for the reception of departed souls, and a more solemn and more gloomy scene, than even the far-famed *Avernus* of the Roman poets.

On this piece of ground, are four of their repositories for dead bodies, two of which are entirely decayed, open, and overgrown within with grass and bushes.

The newest, which had been built, entirely new, three or four years before, was, like the others, round. Its circumference I found was about three hundred feet ; it
was

was sixteen or seventeen feet above the ground, with a border all round at the top, and made entirely of hard hewn stone.

The opening, through which the bodies are carried into the repository, was, as well in this as in the others, facing the east, in order that the rising sun might shine upon them, and in the upper part of the wall, just below the border, at the distance of full five feet from the ground : this opening was shut by two massy stone doors, with a very large lock, and so well closed, that none can either enter into, or even behold, the inside.

A sloping ascent is made to the door, up which the bodies which are to be deposited in the repository are carried ; I went up it, and to the entrance, but could not find any crevice through which I might see the inside. On the border over the door is a semicircular frontispiece, in which several mottos, allusive to the place, are carved in Persian letters.

To the N.E. N.W. S.W. and S.E. about twelve feet from the place of sepulture, were four pits, or sinks, of brick, sunk in the earth, and with a covering of masonry
over

over them, rising three or four feet above the ground, with several holes in it. These serve to receive the moisture that runs from the dead bodies, either by the rain falling upon them, or otherwise, through as many pipes, or sewers, that communicate with the principal building. The pestilential vapours arising from so many rotting carcases, infected the air all round, in so intolerable a degree, that nothing but the most eager curiosity could have induced me to stay a single moment here; and the little time I did remain in this foul congregation of putrefaction, brought on a most violent headache, and it was a long time before I got rid of it.

At the distance of about forty or fifty roods from this large receptacle, were three others of the same shape and height; but smaller in circumference: two of them were in so ruinous a condition, that there was nothing worthy of observation about them; but I had an opportunity of satisfying my curiosity at the third, which was still entire.

I had left my servants and palankeen-bearers at a distance from the place where
these

these receptacles of the dead were, because I had been told, that the great curiosity of the brother of the French chief, DE BRIANCOURT, to behold the inside of one of these charnelhouses, would have cost him his life, had not his brother come in time to his assistance with some military ; he was assaulted by a number of Perfecs when he entered the gate, as he had been watched by them when he got up to the wall. I was besides so fortunate, that the attendant, who dwells near this place, at a small temple, where the holy fire is kept burning, happened to be gone to the city, so that I was entirely alone in this solitary abode of death.

Clambering up the wall, by means of the holes which were in it, I got as high as the opening through which the bodies were conveyed in, and I found a crevice between the doors, of sufficient width to admit of my seeing how the bodies were disposed : it was as follows ; in the center of a shelving floor of stone, which was laid from the wall, beginning a foot or a foot and a half below the threshold of the doors, and which went all round the building, was a large opening,

or

or pit, and over it an iron grate, serving to receive the moisture that trickled from the putrifying bodies, and of which I could not see the bottom.

This floor was divided into three circular rows ; the uppermost, or that which was nearest to the wall, was appropriated for the bodies of men, the second for those of women, and the third, which was the smallest, for children ; and this last, when the bodies were consumed by the birds, and the action of the air, served likewise as a common receptacle for the bones, which either slid down, or were thrown there, from time to time.

Every corpse had a separate partition in which it lay, provided with a border of about an inch in height, above, below, and on each side ; between which, and the next partition, a narrow groove was made, by which the moisture could flow down into the opening, in the center ; and the apertures, which were made for the water to flow from every corpse, were so arranged, that the fluid exuding from one, did not unite with that of another, till in the central sink.

In

In the row of the women I saw a body half consumed, and many entire skeletons in other places *.

THEVENOT

* OVINGTON gives a most striking picture of this loathsome scene, in the following words: " The burying-place of
 " the Persees is an object the most dreadful, and of the
 " most horrid prospect, in the world, and much more fright-
 " ful than a field of slaughtered men. It contains a num-
 " ber of carcases of very different, disagreeable colours and
 " aspects. Some are seen there bleeding fresh, but so torn
 " by the vultures that croud upon the walls, that their faces
 " resemble that of a death's head, with the eyeballs out, and
 " all the flesh upon the cheeks picked off. And on the
 " fleshy part of the body, where the ravenous bird tasted a
 " more delicious morsel, are eaten several large holes, and
 " all the skin on every part is mangled and torn, by the
 " sharp beaks of these devouring creatures. Here was a leg,
 " and there an arm, here lay half, and there the quarter, of
 " a man. Some looked as if they were partly jelly, others
 " were hardened like tanned leather, by the various operations
 " of the sun and weather upon them. Here lay one pick-
 " ed as clean as a skeleton, near that, another with the skin
 " in some parts green, in others yellow, and the whole so
 " discoloured, as if all within were putrefaction. A sight
 " terrible enough almost to affright an hungry vulture from
 " his prey. But these birds are most delighted with these
 " dismal objects; and that noisome smell which evaporates
 " from the dead corpse, affords a pleasant odour to their
 " senses. The stench of the bodies is intolerable, and of
 " malignity sufficient to strike any man dead that would en-
 " dure it; and yet the vultures choose to sit to the leeward
 " upon

THEVENOT writes, that the *guebres*, who still remain in *Persia*, and especially in the province of *Carmenia*, set the bodies of their dead upright, in a place walled in for that purpose; and lest the body should fall, they put a forked instrument under the chin, to hold it up: they leave it in this posture, till the crows have picked out the eyes; and if they begin by the right eye, they think the deceased is happy, and then put the body upright, in a place walled in, which they call the *white grave*; but if the crows begin by the left eye, they think the deceased is miserable, and put the body into the *black grave*. These graves, he says, are pits, or wells, raised some fathoms high of earth, where they put the bodies stark naked, covering only the privities with a rag. He further adds, that the greatest kindness the *guebres* think they can do to a dead man, is to kill for his sake a great many frogs,

“ upon the wall, luxuriously to suck up, and indulge their
 “ smell with these deadly foul vapours. Some of these
 “ glutted birds were so cloyed and crammed with human
 “ flesh, that they seemed scarce able to take wing, and the
 “ feathers of others were much moulted away, by this kind
 “ of rank feeding.” Page 379. T.

serpents,

serpents, and other reptiles *. But nothing of all this takes place among the Persees at *Surat*, as I have been assured by several people, of whom I made enquiries on the subject †.

Forty roods from the repositories, or tombs, which I have described, stands a square cistern of water, where the corpse is washed by the relations, before it is carried into the tomb; and no Persee may approach near to the repository, much less may look into it. If the first be done inadvertently, which, however, seldom happens, his clothes must be burnt, his body washed clean, and purified by the priests; besides which he must perform some heavy penance.

Near this lavatory is a small four-cornered temple, covered with a sort of cupola, in which a little fire is kept alight, or smouldering, night and day, by one of their nation, who has likewise the care over the burying-places.

* See *Suite du Voyage du Levant*, tom. III. page 389 to 399. S.

† Yet we have seen that Ovington mentions the same superstitious opinion, with respect to which eye is first picked out by the birds, as prevalent also at *Surat*. T.

The bodies which have once been carried into the repository, may never again come out of it ; and if, by accident, any one who might be carried in for dead, were to recover again, and give signs of life, the carriers of the dead, who are obliged to look particularly hereto, are bound to dispatch him effectually, without delay ; of which, it is said, that there have' formerly been instances.

They believe, that if any one were to return again out of the tomb, God would be so incensed, that he would forbid the earth to bring forth fruits, and that the most dreadful disasters would befall all the inhabitants of the country.

U. S. S. S.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.



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